GENEALOGY COLLECTION

GEN

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1833 01749 1785

GENEALOGY
975.2
M365HM
1962

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

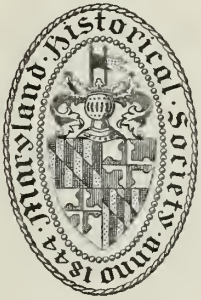
https://archive.org/details/marylandhistoric57brow

# MARYLAND

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BY

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY




VOLUME LVII

BALTIMORE

1962

682472

# CONTENTS OF VOLUME LVII


| | Page |
|---|---|
| Henrietta Szold and the Russian Immigrant School, *Alexandra Lee Levin* | 1 |
| Edward Thornton to James Bland Burges: Letters Written from Baltimore in the Eighteenth Century. *Edited by S. W. Jackman,* | 16 |
| Maryland Medicine in the Seventeenth Century. *George B. Scriven,* | 29 |
| Sidelights, | 47, 155, 259, 371 |
| Reviews of Recent Books, | 56, 163, 268, 375 |
| Books Received, | 68, 172, 389 |
| Notes and Queries, | 70, 173, 280, 390 |
| Contributors, | 73, 175, 284, 397 |
| James W. Foster. *Richard Walsh,* | 75 |
| Sam Chase, "Disturber." *Francis F. Beirne,* | 78 |
| The State in the Maryland Economy, 1776-1807. *Mary Jane Dowd,* 90. | 229 |
| Meade's Pipe Creek Line. *Frederic Shriver Klein,* | 133 |
| John Adams' Correspondence with Hezekiah Niles: Some Notes and a Query. *L. H. Butterfield,* | 150 |
| Samuel Chase and the Annapolis Paper War. *Neil Strawser,* | 177 |
| Politics of Crisis: The Maryland Elections of 1788-89. *Dorothy M. Brown,* | 195 |
| The Rectory of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore: an Architectural History. *Howard E. Wooden,* | 210 |
| Lord Francis Napier's Journal of the Burgoyne Campaign. *Edited by S. Sydney Bradford,* | 285 |
| The Origins of Maryland's Middle Class in the Colonial Aristocratic Pattern. *James High,* | 334 |
| Revolution or Reform in 1836: Maryland's Preface to the Dorr Rebellion. *A. Clarke Hagensick,* | 346 |
| Found: One Anchor from H.M.S. *DICTATOR*. *Frank J. Swartz* and *James Green,* | 367 |

# ILLUSTRATIONS


| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| Baltimore in the 1890's: Charles Street, looking north from German, now Redwood, Street, | Cover, | March |
| Baltimore Street, Looking West from the Adams Express Building, c. 1890. From *Illustrated Baltimore: the Monumental City*, | betw. | 6- 7 |
| Newly Arrived Immigrants in Baltimore in the 1880's. From *Baltimore . . . a Picture History*. Md. Hist. Soc., commentary by Francis F. Beirne (N.Y., 1958), | betw. | 6- 7 |
| Extraordinary Appearances in The Heavens, and on Earth. Augs. 2nd, 1797. Watercolor by B. H. Latrobe (p. 173), | Cover, | June |
| James W. Foster, (1890-1962), | opp. | 75 |
| Legend: The Pipe Creek Line, June 30, 1863, | | 134 |
| Rectory of St. Paul's Parish, 1801. Painting by Thomas Ruckel. Courtesy, Bendann Art Gallery, Baltimore, | Cover, | Sept. |
| Fig. 1. View of St. Paul's Rectory, 1959, | opp. | 210 |
| Fig. 2. 1801 Atlas, | | 211 |
| Fig. 3. Plat of 1827. Courtesy, *Bureau of Building Construction, Baltimore,* | | 212 |
| Fig. 4. Plat of 1833, Courtesy, *Bureau of Building Construction,* | | 214 |
| Fig. 5. Plan of Rectory as Originally Completed in 1791, | | 215 |
| Fig. 6. Rear View, Showing Octagon, Porch, and North Extension of 1827-29, | opp. | 218 |
| Fig. 7. Central Hallway Showing Elliptical Archway and Staircase in Octagonal Bay. *Courtesy, The Baltimore Sunday Magazine,* | opp. | 218 |
| Fig. 8. Ground Floor, 1959, | | 223 |
| Fig. 9. Central Doorway, 1959, | opp. | 225 |
| Fig. 10. The Palladian Window, 1959, | opp. | 225 |
| Water color painting "Action on St. Leonard's Creek, June 6, 1814." Photo courtesy, the Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Va., | Cover, | Dec. |
| Illustration from Horatio Rogers, *A Journal Kept in Canada . . . by Lieut. James M. Hadden, Roy. Art . . .* (Albany, 1884), facing p. 90, | opp. | 288 |
| Fig. 1. Anchor from the H.M.S. *Dictator* immediately after being washed clear of encased mud. Photo by F. Schwartz, | betw. | 368-369 |
| Fig. 2. Anchor ring, 1'7" outside diameter, showing excellent preserved condition of the rope and cloth overlay. Photo by. J. Green, | betw. | 368-369 |
| Fig. 3. Shank of anchor on which appeared the engraved letters "Rec. Chat." Photo by J. Green, | betw. | 368-369 |
| Fig. 4. Stock illustrating the inscribed letters "Dictator," the method of marking the weight of the anchor "6 x 3 x 24" and the broad arrows, a sign of British Government property. Photo by J. Schwartz, | betw. | 368-369 |
| Fig. 5. Profile of 64 gun H.M.S. *Dictator*. Photo courtesy, the Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Va., | betw. | 368-369 |

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

# MARYLAND

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Bustling Baltimore in the 1890's
Charles Street, looking north from German, now Redwood, Street

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

*March · 1962*

Every head of family wants to assure the future protection of his loved ones. Our TRUST DEPT. will be pleased to discuss this matter with you and your attorney at no cost or obligation.

The ONE bank best
for ALL your needs

# 1ST NATIONAL BANK OF BALTIMORE

Member Federal Deposit Ins. Corp.

# IN 1901—

## when we reached the age of 22

President McKinley was shot by Leon Czolgosz at Buffalo on September 6 and died.— *Sept. 14.*

The *Columbia,* owned by J. P. Morgan, won all three contests for the America Cup in the International Yacht Races against Sir Thomas Lipton's *Shamrock.— Sept. 28 to Oct. 4.*

Czolgosz was executed at Auburn prison.— *Oct. 29.*

Marconi transmitted the first wireless message across the Atlantic, Cornwall to Newfoundland.— *Dec. 14.*

The *Shawmut,* 17,000 tons, largest steamship built here up to that time, was launched at Sparrows Point.— *Dec. 21.*

---

**Wherever you move . . . whatever you store . . . call Monumental-Security Storage Company, Baltimore agent for Allied, the World's largest, most trusted Van Line.**

**MOVING local or long distance by skilled personnel experienced in handling everything from household furnishings to priceless works of art.**

**PACKING with our exclusive Kleen-Pack method in custom containers protects even your most fragile possessions in storage and during transportation.**

**STORAGE in Baltimore's most modern concrete and steel warehouse, sprinkler equipped to give you the lowest possible insurance rate and the best possible protection.**

*Your Baltimore Agent for Allied Van Lines*

**Monumental-Security STORAGE CO.**

WINDSOR AVENUE AND MONROE STREET
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

LAfayette 3-2141 LAfayette 3-3771

*"Serving Baltimore and the Nation Since 1879"*

* * * *

*

*

*

# FIRST

* QUARTERLY

# DIVIDEND!

# 102nd

dividend to savers for the THREE months ending March 31, 1962 has been DECLARED by

## *Fraternity*

## ** FEDERAL

## SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

764 WASHINGTON BOULEVARD,
Baltimore 3, Maryland

*AND*

BRANCH: Normandy Shopping Center,
Baltimore National Pike (Rt. 40)
Ellicott City, Maryland

★ WHY BE SATISFIED WITH DIVIDENDS ONLY TWICE YEARLY?

★ ★ INSURED by Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, GOVERNMENT AGENCY

★ THREE DRIVE-UP WINDOWS—main office

★ CUSTOMER PARKING LOTS—both offices

★ Speedy SAVE BY MAIL (Postage-paid envelopes *FREE*)

# BENEFACTORS AND CONTRIBUTORS TO THE FUNDS OF THE SOCIETY

| | |
|---|---|
| Mary Washington Keyser, Gift in memory of her husband, H. Irvine Keyser, of the buildings and grounds of the Society, 1916. | |
| William S. Thomas, Very large estate, 1947, for erection and maintenance of Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building | |
| John L. Thomas, Very large residuary bequest, 1961, for Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building | |
| Richard Bennett Darnall, Very large bequest 1957, for a young peoples' museum, payable after termination of a life estate | |
| Miss Elizabeth Chew Williams, 1960 | $201,395.10 |
| Elise Agnus Daingerfield, Bequest, 1949 | 154,248.00 |
| A. Morris Tyson, Bequest 1956 | 119,713.90 |
| Harry C. Black, Bequest, 1956, Florida home and contents | 66,960.01 |
| Elizabeth S. M. Wild, Bequest, 1950, | 63,906.55 |
| Judge Walter I. Dawkins, Bequest, 1936, $500, and interest in residuary estate not yet accrued. | |
| Jane James Cook, Bequest, 1945, $1,000., and other gifts; and 3/40 of annual income of residuary estate. | |
| Mrs. Thomas Courtney Jenkins, Purchase of Star-Spangled Banner MS., erection of marble niche, 1953, gift of Key portraits and renovation of Key Room, 1952 | 38,225.45 |
| H. Oliver Thompson, Bequest, 1937, one-half of annual income from trust estate, and ultimately one-half of estate outright. | |
| Josephine Cushing Morris, Bequest, 1956, $5,000; proceeds sale of house and contents $23,937.45 | 28,937.45 |
| George Peabody, 1866 | 20,000.00 |
| Jacob France | 19,100.00 |
| Miss Jessie Marjorie Cook | 15,000.00 |
| Miss Virginia Appleton Wilson $300. gift 1918; Bequest 1958 | 11,954.04 |
| A. S. Abell Foundation, 1956, For Brewington Maritime Collection, $5,000.00; 1959 Latrobe Papers, $5,000.00 | 11,000.00 |
| Donaldson Brown, Mt. Ararat Foundation, Inc. for Latrobe Papers and other purposes | 11,000.00 |
| Florence J. Kennedy, bequest 1958 | 10,511.19 |
| J. Wilson Leakin, Bequest, 1923 | 10,000.00 |
| Susan Dobbin Leakin, Preparation of J. Wilson Leakin room and contribution to its contents, 1924. | |
| George L. Radcliffe, Large contributions cash and otherwise. | |
| J. B. Noel Wyatt, Bequest, 1949 | 9,685.23 |
| National Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, For binding and restoration of manuscripts | 8,732.36 |
| J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul, For Latrobe Papers and other purposes | 8,451.77 |
| Prewitt Semmes, 1954, $5,650.00; R. Charles Danehower, 1955, $2,500.00; For Semmes Genealogy and voluntary contributions | 8,150.00 |
| Drayton Meade Hite, Bequest, 1923, $6,000., and other gifts | 7,000.00 |
| Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., For Queen Anne's County History, $5,000., and other gifts | 6,750.00 |
| Thomas C. Corner | 5,211.98 |
| Mrs. Arthur Robeson | 5,200.00 |
| Summerfield Baldwin, Jr. | 5,100.00 |
| Mrs. Laurence R. Carton, Bequest 1958 | 5,000.00 |
| Mendes Cohen, Bequest, 1915 | 5,000.00 |
| Caroline J. Lytle, Bequest, 1928 | 5,000.00 |
| Mrs. Richard Bennett Darnall, 1957, Restoring six Darnall portraits. | |
| Audubon Fund, 1930-37 | 4,900.00 |
| J. Appleton Wilson, Gift, 1921, and bequest | 4,765.91 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Anonymous | 4,500.00 |
| Mary B. Redwood, Bequest, 1941 | 4,378.43 |
| Henry Stockbridge, gift 1921 and bequest 1924 | 4,378.43 |
| Mrs. Drayton Meade Hite, Bequest, 1927 | 4,000.00 |
| Raphael Semmes, Bequest $3,000., and other gifts | 3,140.00 |
| Eleanor P. Passano, In memory of Edward B. Passano for purchase of books | 3,000.00 |
| John E. Semmes, For Studies in Maryland History, 1953, and other purposes | 2,816.14 |
| Alexander S. Cochran, For Latrobe Papers and other gifts | 2,700.00 |
| Mrs. Harold Duane Jacobs, For Latbroe Papers and other gifts | 2,650.00 |
| Ellen C. Bonaparte, Bequest 1925 | 2,500.00 |
| Mrs. Francis C. Little, For portrait of Bishop Claggett, 1953 | 2,500.00 |
| Anonymous | 2,427.97 |
| Charlotte Gilman Paul, Bequest, 1955, $1,630.85, and other gifts | 2,405.85 |
| Sally Randolph Carter, Bequest, 1939, $1,000., and $1,000. to establish the Marie Worthington Conrad Lehr room | 2,000.00 |
| Allen Dickey Fund, 1958 | 2,000.00 |
| Mrs. Sumner A. Parker, For annual genealogical prize, 1945 | 2,000.00 |
| Middendorf Foundation | 1,600.00 |
| Louis and Henrietta Blaustein Foundation, 1957, for the purchase of portrait of Mrs. Elijah Etting and other purposes | 1,700.00 |
| Mrs. DeCourcy W. Thom | 1,585.00 |
| Van Lear Black, 1921 | 1,500.00 |
| Society of Cincinnati in Maryland | 1,500.00 |
| Washington Perine, Bequest, 1944 | 1,500.00 |
| Eleanor S. Cohen, To furnish room in memory of her parents, Israel and Cecilia E. Cohen | 1,300.00 |
| Mrs. Thomas B. Gresham, Bequest, 1926 | 1,200.00 |
| Hendler Foundation | 1,200.00 |
| Charles Exley Calvert, 1921 | 1,150.00 |
| Mrs. Charles P. Blinn, Jr., For Studies in Maryland History and other gifts | 1,100.00 |
| Samuel K. Dennis, Bequest, 1953 | 1,100.00 |
| S. Bernard November, Bequest 1956 | 1,100.00 |
| Mrs. Maurice Bouvier, 1957 | 1,000.00 |
| Isaac Henry Ford, Bequest, 1916 | 1,000.00 |
| Anna B. C. Hambleton, Bequest, 1940 | 1,000.00 |
| W. Hall Harris, Sr. | 1,000.00 |
| Mary Parkhurst Hayden, Bequest, 1934 | 1,000.00 |
| M. Ella Hoopes, Bequest, 1942 | 1,000.00 |
| Sewell Key, Bequest, 1948 | 1,000.00 |
| Thomas S. Nichols, 1958 | 1,000.00 |
| Isaac F. Nicholson, 1909 | 1,000.00 |
| Isaac Tyson Norris, 1916 | 1,000.00 |
| Emilie McKim Reed, Bequest, 1926 | 1,000.00 |
| Clinton L. Riggs, Bequest, 1938 | 1,000.00 |
| Morris Schapiro, 1959 | 1,000.00 |
| J. Henry Stickney, Bequest, 1892 | 1,000.00 |
| DeCourcy W. Thom, 1921 | 1,000.00 |
| Mrs. W. Calvin Chesnut, Bequest, 1942 | 1,000.00 |
| Nellie C. Williams, Bequest 1944 | 1,000.00 |
| Mrs. Wm. Duncan McKim | 932.86 |
| Confederate Relics Fund, 1921-22 | 900.00 |
| Mrs. Samuel K. Dennis, Bequest, 1959 | 882.00 |
| F. Sims McGrath, For Bordley Papers and other purposes | 858.25 |
| Miss Grace Birmingham | 800.00 |
| Misses Elizabeth Gray and Julia McHenry Howard, For Studies in Maryland History, and other gifts | 758.33 |
| Western Maryland Railroad, 1957 | 750.00 |
| Maryland Society Colonial Dames of America, For restoration of manuscripts | 748.55 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Moses S. and Blanch H. Hecht Foundation | 712.00 |
| Mr. and Mrs. Morgan B. Schiller, For restoration of Lloyd Papers | 650.00 |
| Mrs. William S. Hilles | 640.00 |
| Augusta M. Libby, Bequest $500., 1946, and other gifts | 625.00 |
| Alexander E. Duncan | 600.00 |
| Louis S. Zimmerman | 600.00 |
| Maryland Society Daughters of Colonial War | 560.00 |
| Mrs. William R. Milford, For Amelung goblet | 553.00 |
| Mrs. Francis N. Iglehart, 1958 | 509.75 |
| W. G. Baker, Jr., 1921 | 500.00 |
| Mrs. John Nicholas Brown | 500.00 |
| Buck Glass Company, For Amelung goblet | 500.00 |
| Clarence E. Elderkin, For Latrobe Papers | 500.00 |
| Mrs. W. Hall Harris, Sr. | 500.00 |
| Rebecca Lanier King, Bequest, 1928 | 500.00 |
| Mrs. William Milnes Maloy, For purchase of Jefferson Papers | 500.00 |
| Annie Smith Riggs, Bequest, 1959 | 500.00 |
| Neil H. Swanson | 500.00 |
| R. C. Ballard Thruston, Bequest, 1946 | 500.00 |
| Vanderbilt University, For Studies in Maryland History No. 3 | 500.00 |
| Adelaide S. Wilson | 500.00 |
| William Power Wilson | 500.00 |
| Maryland Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, For restoration of manuscripts | 476.00 |
| Charles McHenry Howard | 433.33 |
| Miss Margaret Myrtle Lankford | 400.00 |
| Woman's Eastern Shore Society | 400.00 |
| Hutzler Fund, Inc. | 350.00 |
| McCormick & Co. | 350.00 |
| Miss Ethel M. Miller | 350.00 |
| McHenry Howard | 333.34 |
| Mrs. Mildred Siegel, For gallery installation | 322.66 |
| Arunah S. A. Brady | 315.00 |
| Simon Dalsheimer | 300.00 |
| Henry F. du Pont | 300.00 |
| Mrs. Frank M. Dick | 300.00 |
| George de Geofroy | 300.00 |
| Bryden Bordley Hyde | 300.00 |
| Mrs. Brantz Mayer Roszel, Bequest, 1954 | 300.00 |
| Miles White, Jr. | 300.00 |
| Calvert Distillers Corporation, For cleaning portrait | 275.86 |
| Joseph Katz | 275.00 |
| J. Hall Pleasants | 275.00 |
| Robert Garrett | 270.00 |
| Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland | 260.00 |
| Baltimore Ice Cream Centennial | 250.00 |
| Heyward E. Boyce, Bequest, 1950 | 250.00 |
| Hugo Dalsheimer | 250.00 |
| L. Manuel Hendler | 250.00 |
| Maryland Society United Daughters of the Confederacy | 250.00 |
| William Milnes Maloy Memorial, Gift of employees | 250.00 |
| Ida M. Shirk, Bequest, 1949, $200., and other gifts | 250.00 |
| Joseph E. Smith | 250.00 |
| LaPides Foundation | 225.00 |
| Howard Bruce | 200.00 |
| S. M. Drayer | 200.00 |
| Jacob Epstein | 200.00 |
| F. Grainger Marburg | 200.00 |
| Maryland Daughters of American Revolution Chapter | 200.00 |
| Robert G. Merrick | 200.00 |
| Edward B. Passano | 200.00 |
| Jefferson Patterson | 200.00 |
| Henry F. Reese | 200.00 |

| | |
|---|---|
| A. Russell Slagle | 200.00 |
| Mrs. George Weems Williams | 200.00 |
| Miss Sue W. Worley | 200.00 |
| Mrs. Frances Eaton Weld | 175.00 |
| Mrs. William S. Ford | 160.00 |
| E. Bruce Baetjer | 150.00 |
| Helen Birmingham | 150.00 |
| Charles C. Homer, Jr. | 150.00 |
| Addison C. Mullikin | 150.00 |
| Trafford Klots | 142.84 |
| Maryland House & Garden Pilgrimage | 142.84 |
| Louis H. Dielman | 125.00 |
| Douglas H. Gordon | 125.00 |
| R. C. Hoffman | 125.00 |
| Samuel E. Wilson | 120.00 |

The following have contributed $100.00 each either to the Endowment Fund or for other purposes:

American Institute of Architects
Ark and Dove Society
Howard Baetjer
Philip A. Beatty
Mrs. Harvey G. Beck
Rosamond Randall Beirne
Mrs. A. B. Bibbins
Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss
John E. Bordley
Fred G. Boyce, Jr.
Mrs. Zelina C. Brunschwig
John G. Buck
Mrs. Stockton Buzby
Milton Campbell
Civil War Centennial Commission
Charles M. Cohn
Mrs. E. Herrman Cohn
Mrs. Virginia B. Davies
J. W. Dean
Alice Curtis Desmond
William A. Dickey, Jr.
Eastern Shore Society of Baltimore City
Fidelity & Deposit Co.
Robt. J. Gill Foundation
Mrs. Johnson Garrett
Alexander B. Griswold
Samuel M. Hecht
Chester Hockley
D. Luke Hopkins
Henry P. Hynson
William Ingle
O'Donnell Iselin
Thomas W. Jamison, 3rd
Mrs. Frank R. Kent
Jane Griffith Keys
Mrs. Sidney Lansburgh
Albert Lion
Mrs. Rebecca Littlejohn
Mrs. James H. Lovell
Miss Fanny Lyon
Frank C. Marino Foundation, Inc.
Marma Foundation
Maryland Credit Finance Corporation
Henry deCourcy May
Elizabeth Grant McIlvain
Carl Ross McKenrick
Hooper S. Miles
Lloyd E. Mitchell
John H. Morgan
F. C. Nicodemus, Jr.
Florence Belle Ogg
Mary Parlett
Pratt D. Phillips
Potomac Valley Chapter Amer. Inst. Arch.
Alice Semmes
Mrs. Harper D. Sheppard
Mrs. Edward Shoemaker
Howard E. Simpson
Katherine Bibb Stehman
Bernard C. Steiner
Mrs. Robert H. Stevenson
Mrs. Sherlock Swann
Wilbur Van Sant
Washington County Historical Society
Langbourne Williams
Miss Sue W. Worley
John Purdon Wright

For other contributions, including those donated in connection with payment of annual dues, the Society makes grateful acknowledgment.

---

Gifts of various funds, many of large amounts, have been received to advance the cause of historical preservation and increase appreciation of our Maryland heritage. These have been used for contemplated purposes for the benefit of the people of Maryland without direct advantage to the Society and have not been included in the general funds listed above.

Mrs. Edgar W. Garbisch, Old Trinity Restoration
Laurance S. Rockefeller
Ramsay, Scarlett & Co.
Chapel of Ease, Taylor's Island, Restoration
Anonymous contributions.

For the gift of objects, books and papers, far too numerous to list here, which have been received in the century and more since it was founded, the Society records this expression of its lasting gratitude. These contributions from countless members and friends have made the Society a major storehouse of state and national treasures.

## Officers and Members of Committees of the

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

elected at the Annual Meeting, February 12, 1962

---

*President*

George L. Radcliffe

*Vice-Presidents*

Laurence Hall Fowler — J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul — Jacob France

*Corresponding Secretary* — William B. Marye

*Treasurer* — Samuel Hopkins

*Recording Secretary* — W. Hall Harris, Jr.

*Trustees of the Athenaeum*

Howard Baetjer — Lucius R. White, Jr., *Chairman* — A. A. Houghton, Jr.
Albert D. Hutzler — Edgar W. Garbisch — Charles L. Marburg

*Committee on the Gallery*

John Henry Scarff, *Chairman*

Mrs. Michael A. Abrams — Mrs. Harold D. Jacobs — R. McGill Mackall
J. R. Herbert Boone — Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser, 2nd — Mrs. George W. Williams

*Committee on the Library*

Thomas F. Cadwalader — Thomas G. Machen — John Campbell White
Edward G. Howard — Charles C. Wallace — Dr. Huntington Williams

*Committee on Finance*

Jacob France, *Chairman*

Benjamin H. Griswold, III — Hooper S. Miles
L. Manuel Hendler — Thomas S. Nichols

*Committee on Publications*

Miss Rhoda M. Dorsey — Kent Roberts Greenfield *Chairman* — Robert G. Merrick
Aubrey C. Land — F. Wilson Smith

*Committee on Membership*

Charles P. Crane, *Chairman*

George W. Constable — James W. McElroy — John P. Paca, Jr.
William A. Dickey, Jr. — Hamilton Owens — Neil H. Swanson
Francis H. Jencks

*Committee on Addresses*

Richard F. Cleveland — (2 vacancies)

*Committee on War Records*

Gary Black — John T. Menzies, *Chairman* — J. Rieman McIntosh
Roger Brooke Hopkins — Lt. Gen. Milton A. Reckord

*Committee on Education*

Hon. W. Calvin Chesnut, *Chairman*

Dr. John McF. Bergland — Dr. Thomas G. Pullen
Bryden Bordley Hyde — A. Russell Slagle

*Committee on Relations with Other Societies*

Mrs. Francis F. Beirne, *Chairman*

Royden A. Blunt
Alexander S. Cochran
Mrs. William S. Hilles
Charles McC. Mathias

*Committee on the Maritime Collection*

G. H. Pouder, *Chairman*

Marion V. Brewington
S. Van Nort Chapman
Charles S. Garland
R. Hammond Gibson
August Mencken
Richard H. Randall
H. Graham Wood
Ralph J. Robinson
Charles E. Scarlett, Jr.
William C. Steuart

*Women's Committee*

Mrs. William W. Symington, Jr., *Chairman*

Mrs. William G. Baker
Mrs. Kenneth A. Bourne
Mrs. Richard F. Cleveland
Mrs. Edward K. Dunn
Mrs. Swepson Earle
Mrs. Charles S. Garland
Miss Louisa M. Gary
Mrs. W. T. Dixon Gibbs, Jr.
Miss Jean H. Gilmor
Mrs. Bryden Bordley Hyde
Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser, II
Mrs. Nicholas B. Merryman of J
Mrs. J. William Middendorf, Jr.
Mrs. B. Frank Newcomer
Miss Elizabeth C. G. Packard
Mrs. William H. Pitcher
Mrs. Edwin C. Pond
Mrs. J. Creighton Riepe
Mrs. J. Nicholas Shriver, Jr.
Mrs. Paul P. Swett, Jr.
Miss Mary Gordon Thom
Mrs. Charles A. Webb
Mrs. George W. Williams
Mrs. Francis White

*Special Projects Committee*

C. A. Porter Hopkins, *Chairman*

Howard Baetjer, II
Hugh Benet, Jr.
Pleasonton L. Conquest, III
George D. Hubbard
George M. Radcliffe
Robert Lee Randolph
Truman T. Semans
Arthur W. Sherwood
W. Cameron Slack
Joseph D. Tydings
Robert L. Weinberg

---

James W. Foster, *Director*

---

*Honorary Members*

The Earl of Avon
Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 57, NO. 1 MARCH, 1962

## CONTENTS

PAGE

Henrietta Szold and the Russian Immigrant School
*Alexandria Lee Levin* 1

Edward Thornton to James Bland Burgess
Edited by *S. W. Jackman* 16

Maryland Medicine in the Seventeenth Century
*George R. Scriven* 29

Sidelights . . . . . 47

Mr. Lincoln Attends Church *Samuel Eliot Morison*

Reviews of Recent Books . . . . . 56

Cantwell, *Alexander Wilson,* by S. Dillon Ripley, 2nd
Hancock, *Delaware during Civil War,* by Charles B. Clark
Mason, *Letters of Chief Justice Marshall to His Wife,* by Francis F. Beirne
Desmond, *George Washington's Mother,* by Rosamond R. Beirne
Marvil, *Sailing Rams,* by Richard H. Randall
Brown, *Steam Packets on the Chesapeake,* by Richard H. Randall
Lang, *Follow the Water,* by C. A. P. H.
Byron, *The Wind's Will,* by C. A. P. H.
Runge, *Four Years in the Confederate Artillery,* by Roger S. Cohen, Jr.
Munn, *Index to West Virginiana* and Shetler, *Guide to the Study of West Virginia History,* by Frank F. White
Nelson, *An Architectural Study of Fort McHenry,* by Murray H. Nelligan
Bodine, *The Face of Maryland,* by Harold R. Manakee

Notes and Queries . . . . . 70

Contributors . . . . . 73

COVER: From *Illustrated Baltimore: the Monumental City* (New York, 1890).

---

*Annual Subscription to the Magazine, $4.00. Each issue $1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.*

Richard Walsh, *Editor*
C. A. Porter Hopkins, *Asst. Editor*

Published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore 1, Md. Second-class postage paid at Baltimore, Md.

**TONGUE, BROOKS & COMPANY**

INSURANCE

*All Coverages*

213 Saint Paul Place

Baltimore

**SMITH'S BOOK STORE**

Established 1876

Special attention to inquiries for books relating to Baltimore and Maryland.

LIBRARIES OR SINGLE BOOKS PURCHASED

*CATALOGS ISSUED*

805 N. Howard Street

MU 5-2823 Baltimore 1

Photo Engravings for Programs —Catalogs and Magazines—

The ADVERTISERS ENGRAVING COMPANY

501-509 EAST PRESTON STREET

MUlberry 5-2357 5-2358

**TRADITIONAL FURNITURE**

*From America's outstanding sources . . . in wide open stock selection.*

Our workroom offers complete restoration service . . . cabinetwork, refinishing and reupholstering.

FALLON & HELLEN

11 and 13 W. Mulberry St.

Baltimore, 1, Maryland

LExington 9-3345

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

Volume 57 MARCH, 1962 Number 1


## HENRIETTA SZOLD AND THE RUSSIAN IMMIGRANT SCHOOL


By Alexandra Lee Levin


AFTER the repressive measures known as the May Laws of 1882 were directed against the Jews of Russia, a flood of East European Jews poured into the United States. This influx was so massive that the urban centers to which the immigrants flocked found their rapid absorption difficult. While Baltimore did not have as overwhelming a problem as New York's tenement sweat-shops, still there were problems here, too. Baltimore may not have had a Hester, a Ludlow, or an Essex Street, but it had its Exeter, High, Aisquith, East Baltimore and East Lombard Streets. The Jewish immigrants, freed for the first time from the oppression of centuries, threw themselves into the mad scramble of trying to establish themselves in a new country, and had little time or inclination for anything pertaining to culture.

The fact that learning among the "People of the Book" had fallen to such a low ebb in America was a source of distress and uneasiness among some of the educated Jews, and the first person to take an active step in rectifying the situation in Baltimore was a twenty-nine-year-old school teacher, Miss Henrietta Szold. She had a full-time position at the Misses Adams' School for Girls at 222 West Madison Street, where she taught arithmetic, algebra, geometry, ancient history, botany, physiology, English, German, French, Latin, and whatever else was needed. In addition she commuted on certain afternoons to Mrs. McCulloch's School at Glencoe, a distance of twenty miles, where she lectured to the girls on Classicism and Romanticism, and interpreted the thoughts of Hegel, Goethe, Lessing, Kant, and Fichte.[1] On Saturday afternoons she taught a Bible history class for adults, and conducted classes for children at her father's congregational school on Saturday and Sunday mornings. In her free time she tutored privately in Hebrew and German. She was one of the most active members of the Baltimore Botany Club; she organized their meetings at the Academy of Sciences, and delivered some of the weekly papers on subjects of botanical interest.[2] When the Woman's Literary Club of Baltimore was founded in 1890, Henrietta Szold was one of the first members, and contributed some of the more memorable papers read before that select group.[3] It is amazing that she had the energy and found time to do anything more, but she seems to have possessed extraordinary sources of strength.

On October 1, 1888, an earnest group of young people formally became the Isaac Bar Levison Hebrew Literary Society of Baltimore. Its official seal depicted a pile of books, parchment and pen, an oil lamp of learning surmounted by seven stars, and surrounded by a wreath of laurel. It was at one of the regular meetings of this Society that Henrietta Szold suggested to the members that they should form a school for the teaching of the English language to some of their co-religionists, newly arrived

[1] Letter to author from Mr. Duncan McCulloch, then Headmaster of the Oldfields School, Glencoe, Md. November 17, 1958.

[2] *Bulletins of the Botany Club of Baltimore.*

[3] Correspondence between Henrietta Szold and Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull, President of the Woman's Literary Club. In possession of the author. Also, Baltimore *Sun,* March 27, 1946.

in the city. They accepted her suggestion at once, leaving the numerous and varied details of organization in her capable hands.

Exactly one year later, in November of 1889, Henrietta Szold opened her pioneer class in a rented room at the rear of the second floor of a store on Gay Street near Front Street.[4] The hall had no light, the stairway was crooked and winding, and kerosene lamps provided illumination for study in the room. Under Miss Szold's direction, the willing members of the Literary Society had cleaned the room, painted the floor, and scraped up money for slates, chalk, and a few books. On the first evening thirty immigrants, both men and women, appeared. The very next evening so many applicants turned up that a second class had to be formed. "Two classes were put into operation at once," Miss Szold recounted later, "one consisting of those able to read, the other of such as knew no more than the alphabet." Miss Szold secured the services of two volunteer teachers, Miss Grace Bendann and Miss Deborah Cohn, but sometimes the young ladies were unable to be present.

At the end of a few weeks [Miss Szold wrote] it became apparent that the volunteer system was vicious, no matter how loyal and efficient the teacher may be. Regardless of the poor state of the finances, the Society employed the required number of teachers. One hundred and fifty adults were taught during the semester.

The curriculum consisted of English, English, and again English. All else was treated as collateral and subsidiary. The more advanced pupils—that is to say, all such as could spell out words—were given Eggleston's *History of the United States.* The first lesson consisted of reading a paragraph of not more than eight lines. Every word was explained by pantomime, amplification, simplification, analogy, or etymology. German was resorted to only in extreme cases. One of the teachers, in fact, knew no language but English, yet her success was undisputed. After the meaning of the paragraph had been made clear, the historical allusions were discussed, the geographical references explained by means of a map, and as much incidental information as possible introduced. Questions were asked —questions were encouraged and forced; and answers given and required in English. Then a grammar lesson of the most elementary

[4] Benj. H. Hartogensis, "The Russian Night School of Baltimore" *American Jewish Historical Society Magazine* (1928).

kind was illustrated by examples still drawn from the same paragraph, and finally a spelling and writing exercise elaborated from the same material.

The history book thus became a universal text-book whence lessons in history, geography, grammar, spelling, writing, and conversation were drawn day after day. For the adults, most of whom were intelligent, well informed, and abreast of current events, the method seemed more effective than using a different text-book in each department of instruction.

The eagerness of the pupils was often painful to witness, and nothing more pathetic can be imagined than the efforts made by men well advanced in years to crook their work-stiffened fingers around a pen. Although all were hard-worked during the day, their interest never flagged.

From the historian's point of view it is a pity that complete records were not kept of this first year's struggles and successes. We do have, however, a hand-written resolution [5] sent to Miss Szold by the members of the Literary Society, in April 1890, near the end of the first season: "Whereas Miss Henrietta Szold has on all occasions shown her warm friendship for this Society, and recently has rendered most invaluable services in teaching in the night school of this Society—." Along with the resolution was sent the following note: "This resolution was intended to be elaborately engrossed, but we reconsidered that you would object to the cost, and we feel that plain writing speaks the same to a person of such character and convictions." The meagre funds raised by the members were so sorely needed for school supplies that they knew Miss Szold would be upset at money spent on frills like engrossing.

As a means of fund-raising, the Literary Society arranged an entertainment, probably held at the Concordia Hall, on April 6, 1890, at which amateur musicians contributed their services. Sadie Szold, Henrietta's younger sister, recited "Rashi in Prague," by the poetess Emma Lazarus.[6] The amount realized from the project enabled the group to rent an entire building at 132 North Front Street, and equip it for the ever-growing night school. The members put out a printed prospectus for the coming season of 1890-1891: [7]

---

[5] In the possession of the author.
[6] Program in the possession of the author.
[7] Propectus in the possession of the author.

The undersigned Committee begs leave to announce that the next season of the I. B. L. Hebrew Literary Society will begin on September 1st, 1890. Many new features will then be inaugurated. The intention of the Society is to rent a suitable building in which the required number of rooms will be fitted up as class-rooms for the English night school; one room will be set apart for use as a Library, and another will be made a Reading-room, which will be thrown open every night to the readers of books, journals, and magazines. Arrangements will also be made to increase the efficiency of the school, so auspiciously opened during the past season.

The Committee takes this occasion to appeal to all co-religionists truly interested in the spiritual welfare and intellectual advancement of their brethern, to lend their countenance and assistance. Our aims and purposes are worthy ones, and their realization will be attended with results beneficial to our community. But, above all things, do we invite the aid of our compatriots. If they will give their moral support, increase its membership ranks, and thus swell its funds, it will surely succeed in its chief purpose: to elevate, educate and influence for good those who have recently escaped from the narrowness of Russian life into American light and liberty.

Henrietta Szold had been able to secure additional operating funds for her school from the Baron de Hirsch Fund, a philanthrophy of the Baron Maurice de Hirsch, a wealthy building contractor of Brussels, who had made a fortune by constructing railroads in the Balkans and Turkey. He wished to devote his vast wealth to the alleviation of human distress and established in New York in 1891 a fund of $2,500,000, to which more was added later, to aid in the transportation of persecuted European Jews to places such as the United States and South America. The office of the Baltimore branch of the de Hirsch fund shared the same building with Miss Szold's school at 132 North Front Street.

The second season of the " Russian School " started off with unexpected success, and at the end of the first week Miss Szold wrote to her married sister in Madison, Wisconsin: [8] " Now my especial fad—the school! As we predicted, a tremendous rush of pupils came in on Monday after the holidays: 340 have been enrolled. As we can with difficulty shelter 300, a great

[8] On microfilm at the Baltimore Hebrew College; letter dated 1891 Oct. 31, Henrietta Szold to Rachel Szold Jastrow.

many were turned away. But the rush has been so great that we have determined to rent two rooms elsewhere and open two new classes. This is of course a serious matter, for the simple reason that we have no money or none worth talking about. We shall want two new teachers, several dozen schoolbooks, slates, chalk, pencils, besides the rent. In the face of all this, our community remains cold and indifferent. If we decide to open two new classes, we shall have seven English classes, a bookkeeping, an arithmetic, a Hebrew and a dressmaking class running." Often Miss Szold's day started at 5:30, not to end before 11:30. It was an exhausting schedule.

Having the school in two buildings two squares apart made Miss Szold's task of supervising and teaching infinitely harder, for not only did she supervise all the classes, teach her own class in American History, and assist Mr. Louis H. Levin on Thursday evenings with his arithmetic class, but she also attended to the myriad of annoying but necessary details in her capacity as commissary-general. In a small black notebook [9] she jotted down these items:

*RUSSIAN SCHOOL*

Plumber:

| | |
|---|---|
| Outside fixtures | Globes |
| Burners | Fixtures in upper room |

Carpenter:

| | |
|---|---|
| Clothesnails | Unhinge doors |
| Blackboards | Frame for cloth slates |
| New seats | Pull down windows |

Odd jobs:

| | |
|---|---|
| Coal | Slate sponges |
| Portières | Pictures on walls |
| Blinds | Hearth on third floor |
| Admission cards | Match-safe |
| Advertisement of opening | Garbage-box |
| Roof | Dressmaking belongings |
| Dirt in cellar yard | Cigar boxes |
| Umbrella stands | Grape baskets |
| Cigar-tables | Secretary's books |
| Step-cover | Accounts to be kept by him |
| Roll books | Door numbers |

[9] Notebook in the possession of author.

BALTIMORE STREET, LOOKING WEST FROM THE ADAMS EXPRESS BUILDING, c. 1890.

From *Illustrated Baltimore: the Monumental City.*

NEWLY ARRIVED IMMIGRANTS IN BALTIMORE IN THE 1880'S.

From *Baltimore . . . a Picture History*. Md. Hist. Soc., commentary by Francis F. Beirne (N. Y., 1958).

History Class (2) (Henrietta Szold's Class)

First Reader... 9
Second " ...11
Third " ...13

Room 6. Separate children from adults in Miss Bendann's class. Send children to Room 3 and have them taught by Miss Brown.

Room 7. Take the worst of Miss Sachs's and send them to Room 4 together with Miss Fanny Baumgarten's class.

Room 8. History Class (Public School)

Room 5. Third Reader

Room 2. Literary Class (Tues. Wed. Thurs.)

Room 2. Bookkeeping (Mon.)

The next page of the little notebook has further statistics and rearrangements of classes:

Miss Bendann needs .....65 Readers
Miss Brown " .....50 "
Miss F. Baumgarten .....22 "
Miss E. Baumgarten .....35 "
Miss Sachs .....48 "
Room 5 (3rd Reader) 21
Room 2 (2nd Reader) 35
Room 4 (1st Reader) 40
Room 8 (1st Reader) 25
Room 7 (2nd Reader) 39
Room 6 (1st Reader) 65

Transfer Fanny Baumgarten's best and Miss Sachs's worst to Room 2 or 3 under Reizenstein. Second Reader.

Monday & Wednesday (History)

Tuesday & Thursday (Literature)

To buy:

5 doz. First Readers
5 doz. Second Readers
3 doz. Third Readers
6 doz. Slates
2 doz. Classics

Pay Mrs. M. Hoffman for cleaning house 132 N. Front Street.

One Thursday evening there had been a near-panic in the school, with over two hundred people in the building. It was close to dismissal time, ten o'clock, when Henrietta and Mr. Louis Levin heard agonized screams, tramplings and groans from the room directly over their heads. Of course fire had been their first thought, and they both ran upstairs, met on the way by shrieking women and girls, none of whom could stammer out what was the matter. Finally they were told that a man had fainted. As it turned out, he had been seized with an epileptic fit; but his untutored benchmates, not realizing what was the trouble, had set up a frightened and frightening hue and cry. While Mr. Levin applied water to the prostrate man, Henrietta had the windows thrown open, and forced every pupil from the room and out of the building. The other teachers fortunately had possessed great presence of mind, thus averting a possible misfortune on a large scale, for not a soul stirred from the other classrooms to add to the panic on the stairs. The teachers had had sublime confidence in Miss Szold and knew she would attend to their safety, fire or no.[10]

Early in 1892, Henrietta Szold received a letter from her sister, Rachel Jastrow, the wife of Professor Joseph Jastrow, head of the Psychology Department of the University of Wisconsin: [11] "Henrietta, in the January *Century* magazine it is noted that immigrants become anarchists and socialists so easily in this country because, among all the charities and schools there is not one in which an effort is made to teach this class of people anything of our history, politics, etc. Now, I want you to write about your Russian class and the success it has had, will you? I am sure others will be glad to know of your method, and will choose the best of it to pattern after."

At Mrs. Jastrow's suggestion, Miss Szold wrote an article for the Baltimore *Sun*, which appeared on July 13, 1892:

In a recent editorial, headed "Russian America," the *Sun* made use of the following expression: "Those Russian immigrants who, during the last three or four years to the number of from six to eight thousand, have come to Baltimore, have already adopted our style of dressing, our business methods, our social habits, and their children play our games and sing our songs, frequent our schools and speak with readiness our language." This is a text for which

[10] Jewish Publication Society, *The Szolds of Lombard Street* (Philadelphia, 1960).

[11] Joseph Jastrow Papers in the Duke University Library Archives.

abundant commentary and illustration can be found. The children at play, who called forth the above reflections, are really American products. The surprising thing is that in their elders the process of assimilation begins almost at the moment when the immigrant sets foot on this soil—nay, even earlier, for his compatriots who have preceded him have kept him well posted upon affairs transatlantic, and he has thus learned at least enough to put his mind in a properly receptive frame. His desire to become an American is shown in numberless ways. The question naturally arises on our side: are these the people with whom *we* are to desire a close affiliation? What qualities have they to add to our national character? The Russians, it will be said, have not come willingly; they have been forced away from their homes, in fact. Russia may be said to have sent them here, using American soil as her dumping ground for undesirable subjects. The truth, however, is that Russia has only recently, after much diplomacy and urgency on the part of European Jewish leaders, yielded permission, ungraciously enough, to all Jews who wish to emigrate to do so. All along she has been driving her Jewish subjects from all parts of the empire into a restricted area called the Pale of Jewish Settlement, not measuring more than one-thirtieth of the whole Russian empire, and even there subjecting them to irksome restraints in the way of trades to be plied and mode of life to be adopted. An alternative is offered: a change of faith. These are self-exiled men and women, bringing to us an addition to the staunchness, the unflinching adherence to what is looked upon as truth, and the endurance which we possess as an inheritance from those other persecuted sects who sought a new world in earlier times.

As soon as the immigrants arrive, their children are sent to the public schools, and for themselves, since the city makes no provision for them, they have established night schools. During the winter two night schools, whose chief purpose is the instruction of the immigrants in the rudiments of an English education, are in full operation. One, on Lloyd Street, is under the auspices of the Society for Educating Orphaned and Needy Hebrew Children, an old society of more than forty years' standing. The other is on Front Street, and was opened by the immigrants themselves. The history of the latter is significant. The Hebrew Literary Society was started four years ago, distinctly and consciously for the purpose of preventing these men and women, who are struggling for the bread they eat, from sinking into the slough of materialism, by providing intellectual entertainment for them. At the beginning of the second year of its existence, a library having been collected, a lecture course

established and a modest membership obtained, a night school was started. A tuition fee of 30¢ per month was exacted from them who were known to be able to pay. The institution thus rids itself of all objectionable features of charitable undertakings with educational purposes. Thirty pupils presented themselves the first evening. The number rose to sixty before the week was over, and at the end of the season 150 had enrolled. During the second season 500 were under instruction, and during the one just ended 708 men and women were taught in seven English classes, two arithmetic classes, and one bookkeeping class. The pupils range in age from 9 to 60, but only such children are accepted as pupils as are put to earning a livelihood in the factories and cannot, therefore, go to the public schools. It has happened again and again that children and father, sometimes husband and wife, have sat on the same bench, side by side. Great enthusiasm prevails among the pupils. Sacrifices of time and comfort are cheerfully made by them in order to secure a working knowledge of the language.

I may add as a hint to our board of public instruction that the night schools have been used not only by the Russian Jew but by other immigrants as well—Germans, and more particularly Catholic Russians and Poles. Moreover, they have had on their rolls even children whose ancestors have been Americans for three or four generations, sometimes of English stock. So far as the immigrants themselves are concerned, the negative statement made about their attainments is hardly fair. An appreciable percentage of those who frequent the night schools are cultured, intelligent men and women, abreast of the times, speaking and reading several foreign languages and versed in history and literature. They need merely a vehicle in which to convey to their fellow-workers an idea of their inner worth.

In view of all this, is it not justifiable to ask why our city does not arrange for the opening of night schools? In a *Century* article it was remarked that the massing together in our cities of foreign immigrants, baleful in most respects, is a fortunate circumstance, inasmuch as it presents the opportunity, if we will embrace it, for exercising Americanizing influences.

In the Russian night schools the chief aim pursued is the teaching of the English language for all practical purposes, and the chief subject dwelt upon is United States history and geography. The discussions carried on between pupils and teachers often turn upon current events, the views defended by the different political parties, the commercial policy of each, judicial procedures, and the machinery of the state. Opportunities for comparison between

methods Russian and methods American are never allowed to escape unused by the pupils. On one occasion it became necessary to explain the difference between the Julian and the Gregorian calendars, Russia using the Julian and thus being twelve days behind America in time. "Twelve days!" contemptuously came from one of the pupils, "twelve centuries would be nearer the truth!"

In August of 1892, Henrietta Szold went to New York City to try to persuade the officials of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, notably Judge M. S. Isaacs and Mr. A. S. Solomons, two prominent members of the Board, to contribute more money for her school. She wrote her family of her success: [12] "I visted Judge Isaacs on Friday. In consequence of that visit, Mr. Solomons and Judge Isaacs called a meeting and voted our school $700 for next year. Am I not fully repaid for my visit to New York?"

But the Russian School's ever increasing need for funds, and Miss Szold's lack of time for constant solicitation, necessitated a committee being formed for that purpose:

| | |
|---|---|
| Dr. Aaron Friedenwald, chairman | Simon Dalsheimer |
| Edward H. Wise | Albert Rayner |
| Moses R. Walter | Dr. Joseph Blum |
| Benjamin H. Hartogensis | David Oppenheimer |
| Rev. Alois Kaiser | Samuel Tahl |
| Max Hochschild | Henrietta Szold |
| Leopold Strouse | Solomon Baroway, Sec. |

In addition to the above members, the self-constituted body at one time or another had the assistance of Dr. Cyrus Adler, Louis H. Levin, and William Frisch, editor of the *Baltimore American*. Fortified by the increased financial aid secured by Miss Szold in New York and by the efforts of the committee, the over-crowded school moved to larger quarters at 1208 East Baltimore Street, the former residence of Mr. Moses Friedenwald, a retired merchant who had died not long before.

The expanded school had a good year, and in the autumn of 1893, when Henrietta Szold left Baltimore for Philadelphia to become the editor of the Jewish Publication Society of America, Miss Grace Bendann took over her place as superintendent. The Literary Society sent Miss Szold another re-

[12] August 22, 1892, letter on microfilm at Baltimore Hebrew College.

solution, stressing that "the school of which you are the founder is due solely to your strenuous and never-ceasing efforts."

Miss Bendann informed Miss Szold of the school's progress: [13]

"Fully six hundred came to the school, and had those in charge of the Baron de Hirsch fund been present and seen the disappointment depicted on the faces of the two hundred turned away, I am sure the necessary funds for the maintenance of this and similar schools would be forthcoming. The presence of nearly one hundred familiar faces is the best evidence of the confidence felt in the school. This fact alone makes me not only think and wish for you, but grieve, knowing how many will miss your presence and aid. When the school opened there was not sufficient material for a history class—that is, not the material we wanted—only the American public school youth came. Many, however, knowing that you would not be there, absented themselves; but when told that a good teacher would be provided, expressed a desire to return. So the history class is flourishing with a Ph. D. of the Johns Hopkins as instructor. I know there are those who think this too much of a luxury, but Class No. 2 [Miss Szold's class] has been accustomed to luxury. I feel well satisfied with Dr. Cranshaw's work—he is ready to act upon any suggestion, and has succeeded in making his lessons interesting. The two new teachers, Miss Schmalz and Rosenthal, have proved themselves conscientious workers. It is too soon to judge of the progress made in the various classes. It makes me feel happy to know that your work is pleasant and satisfactory, and if I thought we were to have you here again, I would be perfectly happy—but the Philadelphians are wise and deserve to have a princess in their midst; my only consolation has been to know that you are always with us in spirit."

In the spring of 1896 Miss Bendann was married to Mr. Benjamin H. Hartogensis, a member of the Night School Committee, and Miss Rose Sommerfeld became superintendent until she left in 1897 to take charge of the Clara de Hirch School for Girls in New York City. The following year the Russian Night School ceased to exist due to public apathy and lack of funds, but the pioneering efforts of Henrietta Szold and her associates

[13] Grace Bendann to Henrietta Szold, Nov. 3, 1893, on microfilm at the Baltimore Hebrew College.

had left a permanent impress upon the city, for more than five thousand persons had become Americanized in the decade in which its classes were held.

After 1900, when the Public Schools were reorganized, and a new Board took office, with Mr. James H. Van Sickle as Superintendent, Mr. Benjamin H. Hartogensis, a lawyer, approached Mr. Van Sickle, urging an answer to the immigrant question put by Henrietta Szold in her *Sun* article: ". . . is it not justifiable to ask why our city does not arrange for the opening of night schools?" According to Mr. Hartogensis: "The first was opened on High Street under the direction of Jacob Grape; later, Superintendent Van Sickle persuaded David Weglein to take charge of immigrant night school classes. Mr. Weglein secured extraordinary results during the many years he conducted the schools." [14] Dr. David E. Weglein became Superintendent of the Public Schools in 1925, a position he held until 1946.

By 1907 three night schools for the immigrants were in operation, one in School No. 44, at the corner of Sharp and Montgomery Streets, for the benefit of the aliens of South Baltimore; one in No. 5 Night School at Broadway and Ashland Avenue, a school primarily for Bohemians, Poles, and Lithuanians, under Mr. David Weglein as Principal, and Mr. Albert J. Gminder as Vice-principal; and the third, about which the *Sun* for March 31, 1907, carried a story:

—the most bizarre, the most quaint, the most grotesque event of Baltimore's school year took place last Wednesday night at School No. 42, Broadway and Bank Street, when Principal C. O. Schoenrich's polyglot classes had their annual commencement and a chorus of seventeen nationalities joined in singing American national airs. . . . After the present board took charge of affairs, about six years ago, night schools were made a regular thing. . . . (Mr. Schoenrich's class) From being a thing of one teacher and not many pupils, it has become an institution of five classes, as many teachers and nearly two hundred pupils.

Mr. A. Roland Gminder, a retired Public School teacher, and son of Mr. Albert J. Gminder, mentioned above, remembers [15]

[14] (*Ibid.*, footnote No. 4).
[15] Personal interview with author, Dec. 18, 1961.

## RUSSIAN NIGHT SCHOOL RECORD

| | Number of Pupils Enrolled. | Average Attendance | Number of Sessions | Number of Classes. | Conthibution of the Baron de Hirsch Fund Committee. | Contribution of the Baltimore Committee of the Baron de Hirch Fund. | Dues from Pupils. | Contribuitions from the Citizens of Baltimore, the Hebrew Literary Society, Proceeds from Entertainments, Rent etc. | Income from other Sources. | Total Income. | Expenses. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1890-91 | 515 | 103 | 102 | 5 | $200 | $360 | $234.02 | $557.30 | $17.98 | $1369.30 | $1369.30 |
| 1891-92 | 708 | 167 | 99 | 7 | 400 | 360 | 139.62 | 864.90 | . . . | 1764.52 | 1545.62 |
| 1892-93 | 665 | 155 | 89 | 7 | 700 | 360 | 147.90 | 295.00 | 218.90 | 1721.80 | 1702.60 |
| 1893-94 | 900 | 233 | 101 | 8 | 700 | 360 | 42.00 | 923.45 | 19.20 | 2044.65 | 1852.68 |
| 1894-95 | 647 | 150 | 91 | 7 | 350 | 360 | 127.20 | 671.46 | 191.97 | 1700.63 | 1629.52 |
| 1895-96 | 840 | 205 | 92 | 7 | 350 | 360 | 77.60 | 773.68 | 71.11 | 1632.39 | 1631.54 |

teaching in Mr. Schoenrich's polyglot class in School No. 42, around 1913, while he was working for his A. B. degree from Johns Hopkins. He had fifty pupils, ranging in age from a lad of fifteen to a Frenchman of fifty-seven. Most of his pupils were Russian Jews, with a good scattering of Lithuanians, and all fifty were jammed into such a small classroom that it took a good deal of adaptation on the part of the teacher, since the pupils had been " sewed into their clothes for the winter."

The subsequent history of the evening schools in the city of Baltimore is on record. The contribution made by Henrietta Szold's school to education in Baltimore was summed up by Mr. Hartogensis in these words: " It was frequently said by many capable merchants, doctors and lawyers that they owed their success in life to this school . . . It is safe to say that this institution contributed more than any other single influence to make useful citizens of those thousands of Baltimore Jewish imigrants."

In 1935 in New York's City Hall, on the occasion of Henrietta Szold's seventy-fifty birthday, Fiorella LaGuardia said to her: " If I, the child of poor immigrant parents, am today Mayor of New York, giving you the freedom of our city, it is because of you. Half a century ago you initiated that instrument of American democracy, the evening night school for the immigrant . . . Were it not for such programs of education and Americanization at the time of our largest immigrant waves, a new slavery would have arisen in American society perhaps worse than the first. . . ." [16] And in 1944 President Roosevelt sent Miss Szold a message, which read in part: " Since 1889, when you organized the first English and Americanization classes in your native Baltimore, you have devoted yourself to the best social and educational ideals, both here and in Palestine. . . ." [17]

[16] *Congressional Record*, Washington for Tuesday, March 8, 1960—Vol. 106, No. 43. Appendix P. A. 2018.

[17] Henrietta Szold Personal Archives Jerusalem, Israel.

# EDWARD THORNTON TO JAMES BLAND BURGES:

## LETTERS WRITTEN FROM BALTIMORE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Edited by S. W. Jackman

IN 1793 Edward Thornton was appointed vice-consul and assistant to Phineas Bond, consul for the Middle States, with his headquarters at Baltimore. Thornton, the protege of James Bland Burges,[1] the British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had come to the United States some two years earlier as secretary to George Hammond [2] the newly appointed minister. Hammond and Thornton were young and both were under some obligation to Burges for past favours and for hoped for favours to come. Thornton perhaps was more especially indebted to Burges because the latter had acted as the former's patron.

Edward Thornton was a man of ability and talent without any particular connections in society, and the eighteenth century was definitely one in which talent alone was not enough.

The whole edifice of public affairs rested upon a scaffolding of patronage which seemed neither wrong to the majority of those whose lives were passed within it. Acquaintanceship (and, still more useful, family connection) with some public man was the

---

[1] For the life and career of James Bland Burges see James Hutton, Editor, *Selections from the Letters and Correspondence of Sir James Bland Burges, Bart., Sometimes Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. With Notices of His Life* (London: 1885).

[2] George Hammond (1763-1853) was the son of William Hammond. He was appointed secretary to David Hartley while the latter was in Paris during the negotiations for the Peace of Paris of 1783. He held various diplomatic appointments in Vienna, Madrid, and Copenhagen. In 1791 he was appointed minister to the United States and four years later he succeeded James Burges at the Foreign Office where he remained until he retired in 1809. *DNB* (London, 1908), VIII, 1125-1126.

only way of gaining a foothold, and often enough, of earning an honest livelihood. While not entirely disregarded, merit was in some ways a secondary consideration.[3]

Thornton was one who was to profit by this attitude of "the Establishment." He was the son of William Thornton an unsuccessful innkeeper in London who on his death, his wife having predeceased him, left his family orphans. The elder son William was apprenticed to a merchant while the younger son Edward was given a scholarship first to Christ's Hospital and another scholarship later to Pembroke College, Cambridge. At Cambridge Thornton did exceedingly well as a student.

With talent and ability but no connections, Thornton did the obvious thing for that day; he sought a patron and became a tutor in the house of James Bland Burges. His abilities and charm soon made him very popular with the entire household, and his talents were so outstanding that it was evident he deserved a better post. It was decided, therefore, that he should accompany George Hammond to America. Thus began Thornton's long career in the Foreign Office.

In 1793 Thornton, while still officially secretary to Hammond, was appointed to assist Bond.[4] Upon Hammond's retirement to England, Bond was made charge d'affaires and Thornton became secretary of the legation. He held this post until 1799 when he returned to England on leave. While there he took up a fellowship at Pembroke College to which he had been elected in his absence. He went back to the United States to act as charge d'affaires from 1801 to 1803 and finally left America forever when Anthony Merry was appointed to represent the British crown.

Thornton's later diplomatic positions included appointments in Lower Saxony and Sweden; he was made ambassador to Portugal in 1817. For his long and able service he was made a Knight Grand Commander of the Bath in 1822. Two years later he finally retired and lived quietly until his death in 1852.

[3] James Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes, The Flight of Youth* (London, 1951), p. 63.

[4] Phineas Bond of Philadelphia came from an eminent family. In 1786 he was appointed British consul for the Middle States; in 1793 Thornton was made his deputy. S. W. Jackman, editor, "A Young Englishman Reports on the New Nation: Edward Thornton to James Bland Burges, 1791-1793." *William & Mary Quarterly*, XVIII, No. 1 (January, 1961), p. 93.

The letters from Thornton to Burges are interesting for their descriptions of Baltimore and its environs. They are open and candid, not necessarily unfriendly to the Americans, and are those of a perceptive observer who presents information to a friend and superior abroad to bring about better understanding of the new world thereby causing the formulation of a more realistic policy with respect to it.

The Thornton letters are in the personal possession of Mrs. F. M. Morris-Davies of Oxford, England. An earlier collection of letters was published in the *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. Ser., XVIII, No. 1 (January, 1961). I am very much obliged to Mrs. Morris-Davies for permission to publish the letters.

Baltimore 1st September 1793

My dearest Sir,

At the time of the sailing of the July Packet from New York, I was so engaged in preparing for my journey to this town, which had been too long delayed, that I had no time for writing; and the June Packet from England, which was expected to take the August mail, arrived so late that I had only time to finish two letters to Pembroke Hall, which were indispensable, and of which I inclose duplicates, begging you to have the goodness to forward them. By the June Packet I received an intimation from the tutor at Pembroke, that an election for two fellows of that society would be held the beginning of November, and that I might attend the meeting personally as a candidate, which he was authorized by the Society to acquaint me was by no means absolutely necessary. This dispensation from personal attendance I could not but eagerly embrace under my present circumstances, although I am apprehensive that it may be a prejudice to me at the ensuing election. " Segnius irritant animor demissa per aurem, quam que sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus "; [5] and I believe (laying aside all other considerations) there will ever be very little hesitation in deciding between two candidates at Pembroke and one proxy from Baltimore. The two gentlemen are my seniors on the boards, a circumstance much to my disadvantage. On the score of *real* merit it is not for me to speak. This only I may without much vanity assert, that according to that scale which our University has chosen to adopt

[5] "A thing when heard, remember strikes less keen, than when 'tis seen." Horace, *Ars Poetica*.

as the test of merit, I am at least equal to one of the candidates, and decidedly superior to the other.[6]

By this conveyance, my dear Sir, I cannot address you with prudence on certain subjects. Since I have been in this place, I have been pretty actively employed, though I have not the vanity to think that you will discover it by any other information than my own. I must too just observe to you that in consequence of the conduct of its minister the influence of France over the minds of the people here is fast declining.[7] It is indeed malgre lui, and while it is possible to separate in idea the man and his measures from those of his nation, the recantation will not be sung in full and unanimous chorus. A weak government (and still more if it be a proud one) does not chuse to be reminded of its weakness, it can therefore never forgive an insult which involves at once the assertion and its proof, and both in the most humiliating way. What should we think of the policy of an adventurer who would remind his hoary mistress of her age, and challenge her to bite him, because he knew she had no teeth? On the other hand our friend at Philadelphia is hurrying the current into another direction with a sure and silent progress. By a conduct frank and temperate, firm yet always respectful, he is proceeding by the surest road to gain the affections of his country towards himself and his nation. This turn has been very perceptible during my stay in this town, which at the time of my arrival was almost entirely French.

The town of Baltimore is the largest in the State of Maryland, though it is not the metropolis nor the seat of government. It contains about twelve or fourteen thousand inhabitants, and is in my opinion beyond comparison the most *increasing* commercial town of any which I have yet seen. It is built on one side of a circular bason near the head of the Chesapeake (the most noble bay in the world) in a low sandy bottom and closely encircled with hills. The place from this description you may easily imagine

---

[6] This is a reference to Thornton's desire to be elected to a fellowship at Pembroke College. It would be most gratifying to him personally, have some monetary value, and would enhance his social position. His tenure would be limited only by marriage upon which he would have to surrender his fellowship. There was no requirement that he take holy orders. He was successful in gaining the election and assumed the fellowship in 1799; there were no residential requirements, no duties to perform, in fact it was a sinecure.

[7] This is a reference to the activities of Citizen Genet, the French minister, who violated nearly all of the known canons of accepted diplomatic behaviour. He was so outrageous in his conduct in outfitting privateers, issuing letters of marque, recruiting forces for the reconquest of Florida and Louisiana, granting commissions and organizing Jacobin clubs that the government demanded his recall. It is interesting to speculate on the question whether Hamilton had spoken of the plan to recall Genet to Hammond or Thornton.

is neither pleasant nor healthy; in fact the heat of the summer is most intolerable, and the ague and fever are frequent visitants. From the hills about it the views of the bason, the shipping, and the numerous points and islands in the bay, are really superb. The country as far as it is cultivated, is extremely productive in corn, particularly on the Eastern Shore of this Bay, whose produce and that of the banks of the Susquehanna and some other rivers, are brought entirely into this town, at least when designed for exportation. A vast quantity of flour is also brought by hand carriage from a considerable distance. The culture of tobacco is on the decline in this State, and indeed in Virginia itself; although it will form for several years to come a very considerable article of exportation. The population of this State is estimated to exceed 300,000 persons, of whom nearly one third are slaves, and this estimate allows about 27 persons to a square mile. In a country so thinly inhabited, although it produces much more than it consumes, a great portion must necessarily be unsettled and still in a state of nature. In fact the roads be through woods, whose continuity is occasionally interrupted by open spots of cultivated land. I travelled through that part, the Eastern Shore, which is reckoned to be in the highest state of cultivation and which is yet laid out in this manner. There, open tracts of corn or pasture land are often very extensive, but are constantly encircled by a kind of amphitheatre of woods, and unless in travelling the road happen to be so elevated as to overtop the neighboring tree, a forest is the constant boundary of every prospect.

As to the manners of the people in this place, I could, were I so disposed, expatiate upon the primitive purity of the inferior classes, upon the general knowledge of the higher orders in every branch of science, more especially in political economy, upon their liberal, enlightened, and polished manners of discussing the latter topic. I could do all this; but the vessel which conveys my letter, may perhaps be stopt by a courier, the letters examined, and I may be suspected of having adopted this indirect method of paying my court to the inhabitants of Baltimore. I shall therefore be silent; and if ever I find certain sentiments almost involuntarily rising in my mind (you will easily conjecture of which nature they are) I shall construe to check their progress by a recollection of those charming models of defined manners of goodness and of knowledge which I *have seen*. Tuimus Troes, fuit Ilium. By this recollection I become once more satisfied with human nature; I feed ' on sweet contentment of thought ', and feel myself more than ever. My dear Sir . . .

P. S. I did not receive the last Packet the letters of Alfred [8] which you were so good as to promise me. I read them with Mr. Hammond, and admire them too much not to wish to repeat that pleasure. If you could spare me a London daily paper, after you had thrown it aside, I should be extremely grateful for it: as I see in this place none but partial, mutilated and even malicious extracts from the most violent of the English papers. I have importuned my brother repeatedly with a similar request, and have never yet been able to obtain them in a regular or even in any manner from him.

E. T.

Baltimore 3rd November 1793

My ever dear Sir,

I do not apologize to you for the very long silence which I have observed (except in one or two instances) since my residence here: for in fact, the difficulties arising, from the alarming malady [9] which has raged at Philadelphia, from the later arrivals of the Packets and their almost instant departure, together with the uncertainty of any other conveyance, have deterred or rather prevented me entirely from writing.

During the four months in which I have lived in this Town (the longest and most busy I have ever seen) I have not been regaled with the sight of a single British vessel, but under the *agreeable* circumstances of capture often illegal, unlawful condemnation, and precipitate sale. I cannot indeed claim much merit from an activity and vigilance, which, although my duty and my pleasure, has been not a little stimulated by my hatred of the Gallic name and by indignation at their shameful proceedings. The gross partiality discovered by the mass of the people here, and their malevolence against Great Britain, supported and perhaps extorted by the terrors of a French armed force, have contributed in no small degree to increase my irritable disposition. Allow me, my dear Sir, to reveal to you my opinion (and under the seal of the strictest confidence) that the interests of Great Britain have sustained material injury. I will not say by her neglect of this coast, but by her entire and individual attention to more important objects. It has lost her the opportunity for a time and perhaps forever of capturing a fleet of merchant men, whose value could scarcely be short of ten millions sterling. This indeed could not have been foreseen, but in war

[8] I have been unable to discover to what publication he is referring here.
[9] The Yellow Fever.

and in such a war as the present, what event can be predicted? When that fleet arrived in the Chesapeak[e] with thousands of naked wretches on board flying from fire and massacre and horror,[10] it excited an enthusiasm and compassion prima impressione, which would have been more honorable to the American character, had they not been tinctured a little too much with politics. The desperate faction in this country, attached to France, [illegible] with eagerness this favourable moment of relieving their *allies,* and carried away in the torrent all good men, who were urged to the same object by purer motives. At first I congratulated myself that a British squadron had *not* been in the way to intercept this unhappy people, who had no other interest in the fleet than that of their own immediate preservation. But why could not a British squadron after taking them have relieved them in the same manner? Why could not our glorious nation have run a second career of generosity and compassion similar to the first example she gave to an admiring world? Instead of this, under the protection of a general principle, which never had contemplated so singular an exception to itself, a set of privateers, the disgrace of human nature by their rapacity and cruelty, plundered the unfortunate creatures, who could not escape with the fleet, of the poor remains of their fortune rescued from the flames, and gave a second opportunity to the same faction of depressing the British character, to which they artfully extended the stigma, in the same proportion as they had before elevated the French. By this we lost the occasion of presenting another honorable spectacle to the world, that of the armed force of a great nation punishing its guilty subjects, who had too shamefully abused its general laws. I know that in this country these enormities of the privateers have been described with all the aggravations of private malignity: but does this not give an additional force to my arguments? In fine, my dear Sir, the manoeuver of this same faction with the cooperation of the French Minister and the horrors of the fleet (all of which would have been overcome by the strong counterpoise of an English squadron) actually intimidated the government of this country from pursuing with vigour that system which providence pointed out to it to adopt.

---

[10] After the outbreak of the French Revolution and the consequent levelling of society and the extension of personal rights, the mulattoes, resident in the French colony of Haiti, demanded civil rights and in 1791 the National Convention gave these rights to them. The whites were most opposed and requested a revocation which in August 1791 took place; the result was that the mulattoes were now once again in their inferior social position. When shortly afterwards a slave revolt broke out, the mulattoes joined them and great violence followed with many whites being massacred. It is to this revolt to which Thornton refers.

Forgive me, my ever dear Sir, that I talk this freely to you: I am jealous of my country's honor, which (in this place more particularly) affects me if possible as nearly as the preservation of my own character; and when so much has been done well, I wish to see it done well on every part.

As for myself and my life in the town, when I tell you that Great Britain has in it many more who dislike than who admire her; that I never shrink from her cause in any argument but support it with perhaps an improper warmth, you may think that I do not lead an extremely pleasant life. That is perhaps true; but after all, partly from good humour, perhaps from the frank expression of my spleen when I find it excited, I believe I have made more friends than foes in it. Shall I however disclose to you one fault which I begin to discover in myself? I fear I am growing vain and insolent. In England a young man must be professed of an uncommon share of vanity or must have had extremely bad luck, if he has not found himself almost always in company superior to him in rank in talents and in education. From the continual rubs which vanity thus receives, the blemish becomes polished, if it be not destroyed. If then I should sigh out a wish to return to England, impute it as you please to my desire of re-learning the lesson of humility, or to my anxiety to embrace my dear and honored friend. What a cure for both these feelings would your company afford to, My dear Sir . . .

Edwd Thornton

P. S. My tenderest remembrance ever waits on Mrs. Burges and my young friends. E. T.

4th November 1793

I open my letter again to tell you that 4 or 5 French vessels have just arrived here from Cape Francois, convoyed to the Capes by a Frigate which is gone up to Philadelphia. In that town late inhabited by 60,000 white persons there are not now more than 300. The diabolical commissary Sonthonax [11] is there. You may have heard of *Jeremie, Cape Nichola Mole,* and the *Platform* having put themselves under protection of his Majesty's flag, Commodore Ford with the *Europa* (50 guns) and 3 frigates and about 1,000 troops having been received by the people. A gentleman who is a passenger in one of these vessels says he heard Sonthonax on the receipt of

[11] Sonthonax was the Commissioner from France to Haiti in 1791-1792. He was extremely egalitarian, very pro-Negro and emancipated the slaves in August 1792. *La Grand Encyclopédie* (Paris: n. d.), XXX, 275.

this intelligence swear in the most horrible manner, that he would send his emissaries to the Mountain Negroes in Jamaica and perform the same horrors in that Island as have been executed in St. Domingo.

E. T.

Baltimore 14 September 1795

My dear Sir,

Before this letter reaches you, you will have heard I hope; from Mr. Hammond himself, that I accompanied him on the 18th ulto. to Sandy Hook and on board the *Thisbe* frigate. I returned to this place a few days after I left him; but an intelligence has yet been received here of his arrival at Halifax or of his subsequent departure from thence. While I was with him at Philadelphia, he imparted to me, the letter which he had written to you some time before on my behalf, and your answer which he received by the May Packet. These additional proofs of your increasing regard affect me, my dear Sir, in the most sensible manner. Shall I say, that my attachment and gratitude are augmented by them? No: I will not do this injustice to the sentiments which you long ago excited, and which, if they were capable of increase, would be equally unworthy of yourself and of me. I feel that to all the proofs of your persevering friendship I can only return the same unalterable affection, and that this will never cease to be returned.

Since my arrival in this town I have had very little to do, although illegal equipment of privateers still continue to be carried on with the same perseverance and activity as before. The minds however of the people are somewhat calmed from the agitations, which the discussion of the treaty excited; [12] and they seem at present rather apprehensive of the consequences of their impetuosity. This I have observed on all occasions to be their character: they yield with inconsiderate eagerness to the impulse of any passion, but as soon as its first effect is exhausted, they tremble at the reflection of their own rashness. These discussions however appear to me to have had a very unfavorable effect on the popularity of the President: whether it be that the public affection is really diminished, or that from

[12] The Jay Treaty was concluded in 1794 and was to settle all the outstanding problems arising out of the Treaty of Paris of 1783. The treaty provided for the British evacuation of the Northwest Posts but beyond that did little else and made an inordinate number of concessions to the British such as the acceptance of British ships in America on the most favored nation terms. Further it said nothing on the outstanding issue of search and impressment. The treaty was extremely unpopular and was thought in America to be a major disaster. Samuel F. Bemis, *The Jay Treaty* (New York, 1923).

being accustomed to see his name mentioned in the democratic papers with every term of indignity, and abuse, the people begin to view this conduct with less resentment than formerly. He passed through this town about two days ago on his return to Mount Vernon, and though he stopt it is true for a very short time, was certainly treated with more neglect than on any former occasion.

At the time of his departure from Philadelphia he had not (as far as I can understand) filled the vacancies in the American administration by the death of the Attorney General [13] and the retirement of the Secretary of State.[14] The President was met in this place by General Lee,[15] late Governor of Virginia, and Commander in chief in the Western expedition. From this circumstance a report has gained some credit, that this Gentleman will be appointed to the post of Secretary of War, from which department Colonel Pickering [12] is to be transferred to that of Secretary of State. But there is some reason to believe that General Lee will accept no public appointment whatsoever, being at present entirely occupied in the advancement of his private fortune by purchases in land.

I beg you, my dear Sir, to make my most affectionate remembrance acceptable to Mrs. Burges, and to my young friends, if I am not too much straitened for time, it is my intention to write; and be assured that I am ever with the most grateful and affectionate attachment, My dear Sir . . .

Baltimore 25 April 1796

My dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dear letter of the 3rd January from Eltham on the 26th ulto., and I congratulate you

---

[13] This refers to the death of William Bradford which occurred in August 1795. *DAB*, II, 566.

[14] Edmund Randolph (1753-1813) a Virginian was a member of the Continental Congress. He also attended the Constitutional Convention but declined to sign the Constitution, but he did, however, support its ratification. George Washington appointed him Attorney General and later succeeded Jefferson as Secretary of State but he was forced to resign this post because of an imbroglio with the British and French. During Burr's trial Randolph acted as his counsel. *Ibid.*, XV, 353-355, *passim.*

[15] Henry Lee (1756-1818) a Virginian better known as "Light Horse Harry Lee" supported the revoluntionary cause and was a most able military leader. He was a Federalist. From 1792 to 1795 he was Governor of Virginia; during the Whiskey Rebellion he was appointed by Washington as commander of the army. He is the author of the statement on Washington "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." *Ibid.*, XI, 107-108 *passim.*

[16] Timothy Pickering (1745-1829) from Massachusetts was an active supporter of the revolution. In 1791 he was appointed Postmaster General and in 1795 he became Secretary of War. He was Secretary of State under President Adams. Later he represented Massachusetts in Congress as a senator. *Ibid.*, XIV, 565-568 *passim.*

with all my soul on the very honorable manner in which you have retired from the foreign office.[17] I have no doubt of the pleasure with which you returned from the harrassing anxiety of perpetual occupation to the enjoyment of the dear circle around you; and your own active and enlarged mind will always furnish you with sufficient employment, when the first charm of your present tranquillity shall be worked off. He who could not find subjects of his benevolent industry in the Vale of Montgomery,[18] need not fear the encroachment of indolence or vacuity in the elevated station to which he is raised and in the crowd of interesting objects that must in London engage his attention.

This morning's paper had agreeably surprized me with the intelligence brought by a vessel from Liverpool that His Majesty has been pleased to appoint me Secretary of Legation to this country under Mr. Liston.[19] I know the anxious interest which Mr. Hammond and yourself have ever taken in my welfare, and I feel much more than I am capable of expressing all the friendship and affection, with which you both have honored me. This appointment is indeed an important step in my mind, and it must be my own fault, if with such friends my own exertions do not bring me forward.

The proceedings in this country for this month past relating to the treaty with Great Britain have excited a very considerable degree of interest in the public mind: and notwithstanding the general opinion seems now in favor of it, it is still a matter of uncertainty whether the house of Representatives will adopt the necessary measures for carrying it into effect. Toward the latter end of

---

[17] After some weeks of tergiversation on the part of Pitt and the ministry, Burges was finally persuaded to retire from office in the autumn of 1795. He was offered several positions in exchange but for a variety of reasons refused them all. Lord Grenville, the Secretary of State, did not dislike Burges but in the proper patronage tradition he desired a member of his own circle in office. Burges' resignation was quite understood by his own contemporaries and there was no stigma attached to his retirement. He was given a baronetcy, a pension of £1500 a year, and the sinecure office of Knight Marshall of the Royal Household with a remainder in that office for two lives. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-292. It is interesting to note that George Hammond was Burges' successor. *DNB* (London 1890), XXIV, 242.

[18] The Vale of Montgomery is in Wales; Burges' estate was in Montgomeryshire and it is to this place that he retired.

[19] Robert Liston (1742-1836) a Scotchman was tutor to the son of Lord Minto. Liston later joined another son of his patron the Hon. Hugh Elliott, a diplomat, as secretary. In 1783 Liston accompanied Lord Bute to Spain and then became minister there himself. In 1788 he was transferred to Stockholm, in 1793 he went to Constantinople and then in 1796 he was appointed to the United States. He left America in 1800 and continued his diplomatic career elsewhere. *DNB*, XI, 1235-1236, *passim*.

February, a motion was made in that body by Mr. Livingston [20] a member from New York, that the President should be requested to lay before them all papers relating to the origin and conduct of the negociation. These papers had been for some time before open to the inspection of the members; and from some observations which escaped in debate it appeared as if Mr. Jay [21] had acted in opposition to his instructors by *concluding commercial* arrangements, before he had received the President's express approbation. Whatever may have been the causes of this motion—whether (anticipating the refusal of the President) to derive thence a pretext for rejecting the treaty in toto—or to replace the negotiation of Mr. Jay in so invidious a light to the people to exclude him from every hope of suceeding to the Presidency on a future election—it excited most vehement debates. The motion was carried by a considerable majority, and the President after some days of deliberation refused to deliver the papers, in a message, of which as it will convey to you some idea of the turn of the arguments used in the House of Representatives, I inclose you a copy.

In consequence of this refusal and the doctrine asserted in the message which conveyed it, the two resolutions of Mr. Blount [22] a Member from North Carolina, which I also inclose, which like the two former is an extract from the public papers, will give you a very correct idea of the proceedings since that time.

Although the debates in the House of Representatives have been carried on with great vehemence, and the majority in that body seem determined against adopting the necessary measures for carrying the treaty into effect, a most extraordinary change has taken place in the public mind. The publications almost six months

---

[20] Edward Livingstone (1764-1836) a New Yorker was a Jeffersonian and while a member of Congress moved for the relevant papers on the Jay Treaty; an action designed to embarrass the administration. He retired from Congress in 1800 and became mayor of New York. He was involved with Burr, retired from New York and settled in Louisiana and represented that state later as a senator. In 1831 he was appointed Secretary of State by President Jackson. *DAB*, XI, 309-312 *passim*.

[21] John Jay (1745-1829) a New Yorker and ardent revolutionist was a member of the Continental Congress until 1779 he was appointed minister to Spain. In 1782 he joined Franklin as one of the commissioners charged with the negotiations of the Treaty of 1783. From 1784 until the creation of the union he was minister for foreign affairs. Washington appointed Jay as chief justice and then in 1794 sent him to England to negotiate the Jay Treaty. In 1795 he was elected Governor of New York; in 1800 he retired from active politics. *Ibid.*, X, 5-9 *passim*.

[22] Thomas Blount (1759-1812) served in the army during the revolution, was captured and held prisoner throughout the war. After the peace was signed he returned to North Carolina where he became a businessman. In 1793 he became a member of Congress. *Ibid.*, II, 389-390 *passim*.

ago were almost unanimous against the treaty: at this moment it is in almost as great a degree the reverse. The most responsible persons in the most considerable towns in the United States have prayed for its adoption; and the majority in the house, in consequence of this strange revolution in the public sentiment, is daily diminishing. The members are now said to be nearly equal; and it is very probable that the majority will very shortly be reversed.

I beg you my dear Sir to present my affectionate remembrances to Lady Burges [23] and to my friend Trollope,[24] and be assured on the unalterable love and attachment, with which I am ever, My dear Sir . . .

[23] Anne, Lady Burges was the second wife of James Bland Burges, marrying him in 1780. She was the third daughter of Colonel Montolieu, Baron de St. Hypolite. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[24] Arthur William Trollope (1768-1827) was educated at Christ's Hospital and Pembroke College where he was a contemporary of Thornton. Trollope, a classical scholar, took holy orders and later, in 1799, became headmaster of Christ's Hospital. *DNB*, XIX, 1169-1170 *passim*.

# MARYLAND MEDICINE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By George B. Scriven *

## The Background of Maryland Medicine

IN the seventeenth century no part of colonial America had an indigenous medical practice; only British medical practice was present, transported with local limitations. British medicine was similar to that of continental Europe. One must begin, therefore, by reviewing the distinguishing marks of British medicine, though space necessitates only a brief and inadequate treatment.

This was a century of brilliant scientific achievement. In England, Newton in mathematics and physics, Boyle in chemistry together with Harvey in physiology and Sydenham in medicine, were setting new landmarks. The great universities had medical schools, of which Padua in Italy was the most famous. Unfortunately, the new advances in knowledge had little bearing on the prevention of disease because their effects were either of doubtful therapeutic value or had not yet reached down to the general practitioner—and were quite unknown in the rural areas.

* The author wishes to express his thanks to Dr. Owsei Temkin, Professor of the History of Medicine at Johns Hopkins University for his courtesy in correcting parts of this article, and to Mr. Guy Weatherly, Senior Archivist at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, for his assistance in locating manuscript sources.

This account is concerned with the state of medical practice in Maryland from the founding of the colony in 1634 to the end of the century. The greatest part of the information comes from the published records of the Provincial Courts, though these have, with one exception, been printed only to 1679. Second in importance are the County Court records, some of which have been published in the Archives of Maryland. Except for the records of Baltimore County, no manuscript county sources have been used. Wills and Inventories furnish an important, though small, part because it has been possible to use only a sampling of this voluminous manuscript material. The sources consulted are sufficient to give a fairly complete picture of the Maryland practitioner and the resemblances to his Virginia counterpart, to name many doctors, to give examples of their diagnoses and treatments, to point out the bodily conditions dealt with, the drugs used and the prices charged.

Many medical men still followed the Galenic and medieval idea in which disease was viewed as a morbid state of the "humors" which were the blood, phlegm and bile in two colors—yellow and black. According to this theory a diseased condition was one in which the humors were impure, out of place, excessive or deficient. If excessive, the treatment was to deplete by bleeding, purging and sweating; if deficient, the natural condition was restored through drugs and diet. There was as yet no real knowledge of what disease was, of its location in the body, or of its causes. In actual practice, there was some bleeding, purging and sweating no matter what was wrong with the patient nor what theory of disease was held by the doctor. There was much resort to polypharmacy—the use of medications composed of a multiplicity of drugs in the hope that one or more of them might be effective. Remedies were accumulated on a trial and error basis, though old theories and ancient drugs held on in spite of clinical evidence to the contrary. Though there were some fairly accurate clinical pictures (such as those existing in consumption, syphilis and smallpox) the therapy, in most instances was not directed against specific diseases but toward general bodily conditions such as fevers, fluxes and dropsies. A few steps had been made on the road to specific treatment for each disease, such as the treatment of scurvy with citrus fruits, syphilis with mercury.

Anatomy, in contrast to medicine, was on a sound basis in which the average doctor knew the coarse structures of the body. Obstetrics was still left largely to midwives.

In Britain physicians were the elite of medical men. They were always called "doctor" even though some held only a bachelor's degree. They practiced among the upper classes where they dealt with most but not all diseases. Being gentlemen and scholars, they did not work with their hands as did surgeons, nor engage in trade as did apothecaries. "In Munk's Roll of the Royal College of Physicians 1570-1700 the names of 642 physicians are listed. Although these were the most distinguished physicians of that period, 167 had no degree in medicine, though they often had other academic degrees. Four hundred and seventy-three held doctor's degrees in medicine and two were bachelors in medicine. Of these 475 doctors, 131 received their medical education at Cambridge, 86 at

Oxford, 69 at Padua, 64 at Leyden, 21 at Utrecht, 12 at Montpelier, 11 at Caen, and 8 at Basle. A sprinkling of other universities made up the rest." [1]

Surgeons, then being inferior to physicians, were craftsmen trained by apprenticeship and hospital instruction who were addressed simply as "mister." They dealt with such things as wounds, ulcers, skin diseases, superficial growths, broken bones, dislocations and amputations. Because of the absence of anesthetics, speed was then essential for a surgeon. Among them were specialists in the great cities who could operate for cataract of the eye, hernia, or bladder stones (called cutting for stone), but others were charlatans of no competence and no permanent residence who travelled from place to place with the fairs. Notorious among the quacksalvers who practiced at the country fairs were those who, when consulted by a bumpkin, diagnosed his trouble as a stone in the head. The high point of the resulting operation occurred when the quack, having prepared as public an operation as possible, made a superficial cut on the scalp, after which he palmed a stone, which he then appeared to take from the incision and throw into a metal bucket with a resounding clunk.

Apothecaries learned their trade through apprenticeship, and at times in hospital wards, but were essentially tradesmen.

These sharp distinctions in the medical field were used only in London and the other great cities, being disregarded in the rural areas and in the colonies. Blanton states that there were only three or four doctors (in the London use of that word) who were resident in Virginia prior to 1700. Much evidence shows that there was almost no distinction in Maryland between physicians and surgeons. In at least one instance a surgeon was also an apothecary.

## The Maryland Doctor

The title "doctor" was used loosely in the American colonies. It occurs very frequently in seventeenth century Maryland, though Garrison mistakenly [2] asserts that it was not used in the

[1] Windham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (Richmond, 1930), p. 79.

[2] Fielding H. Garrison, *History of Medicine* (Phila., 1929), p. 303.

colonies until 1769. In just one volume of Provincial Court records,[3] Luke Barber was called doctor more than twenty times. There is an abundance of evidence in Maryland to show that the title "doctor" was accorded to many medical practitioners in the same casual manner in which present day clergymen are called "doctor" regardless of their academic degrees.

Maryland did not require any medical license though in one instance a physician was forbidden to practice his profession. This occurred in 1676 when several members of the Assembly fell ill from eating a "Duck Py" which had been poisoned by Doctor Edward Husbands of Calvert County. Dr. John Stansby of Baltimore County, who was a member of the Assembly, had a part in the prosecution of his fellow physician. Husbands was not only proscribed from further practice of his art but also received twenty lashes on his bare back from the common hangman for poisoning (and cursing) the Assembly.

Since there were no regulations for doctoring, anyone could try his hand at it, and make charges for his work. There are instances of men with no apparent training who undertook to cure illnesses, and got into the court records over the size of their fees. Among such were James Benson, and John Gay. Walter Pakes[4] undertook to cure a boy of "country duties" (syphilis) for a hundred pounds of tobacco. Oddly enough the treatment was bargained for by his wife who made the claim that Pakes could produce a cure. It scarcely need be pointed out that he was unsuccessful. Pakes was described twice in lawsuits as a gardner and once as an attorney.

Perhaps only a step in training above these amateurs were those who started in a casual fashion. Stephen Clifton of Calvert County seems to have been such, judging by the fact that shortly before death Clifton gave a hogshead of tobacco to Demetrius Cartright for "making him a booke of figures and giving him instruction in his practice." This limited training did not prevent him from styling himself "doctor" in his will. Probably a more definite training was given to John Holmes, an apprentice who was bound to serve Mr. John Meeks "in the way of chirurgery." Mr. Meeks of Charles County was described as "a chirurgeon of London." William Champ had a slightly

[3] *Arch. Md.*, XVI.
[4] *Ibid.*, XIII, 97; LIII, 437; X, 15, 456, 498.

different status. He was an indentured servant to John Moorecroft who was both a doctor and an attorney. Moorecroft trained his servant " in the Art and mystery of Physik " (and perhaps inadvertently) as an attorney, also. Champ appeared in the records after he was a free man by calling his former master " a cheating old Knave." [5]

There are a number of instances in which a medical practitioner was an indentured servant. Robert Harper who was " skillful in administering physik and posessing the same " was owned by Garrett Vanswearington in 1675. The latter (who was not a physician) made a nice income by hiring out his servant to practice medicine. At his master's orders Harper treated Roger Shehee who was " sick and languishing with various distempers of the body," the patient promising to pay what the treatment deserved. Since Shehee died before payment Vanswearington took the account to court where he was awarded his original charge of 520 pounds of tobacco. Because Harper was owned by Vanswearington the latter reaped all of the benefits, while the indentured servant was lucky that he could practice his profession instead of working in the tobacco fields. It is interesting to note that Harper not only treated a variety of patients while an indentured servant, but continued to practice medicine after he became a free man in 1678.[6]

Medicine was practiced by men at all social levels. One might expect to find the barber-surgeons of the early period, Robert Ellyson and John Robinson, at the bottom of the scale. Yet Ellyson was made sheriff of St. Mary's County in 1643. Robinson was a carpenter when not engaged in surgical or tonsorial arts, yet he was well-to-do enough to have a servant. Both barber-surgeons seem to have operated plantations. Among prominent surgeons was Thomas Gerrard of St. Mary's County who carried on a practice while a member of the Governor's Council. Luke Barber, Esquire, owner and operator of extensive plantations, was an attorney, a justice of the Provincial Court, a member of the Governor's Council and (in Fendall's absence) was acting governor of the Province. He is repeatedly called " doctor " and some mention is made of his practice.[7]

[5] *Ibid.*, LVII, 73; LIII, 431; LVII, xx.
[6] *Ibid.*, LXV, 528.
[7] *Ibid.*, IV, 231, 255; XLIX, 147.

Although clergymen who practiced medicine were fairly common in the colonies, only two were found in Maryland. One was the Rev. Francis Makemie, the founder of American Presbyterianism, who ministered to Presbyterian congregations in Somerset County. He is known to have practiced medicine elsewhere, and most likely did so while in Maryland. The other was Ezekial Fogg who describes himself in his will [8] as a "practitioner of physick and Divinity," though his denomination is not indicated. The first medical book published in the American colonies was produced by the pastor of Old South Church, Boston, who was also a physician.[9]

University trained physicians of the London sort were very scarce in the colonies. In Maryland George Binks, gent. 1642 St. Mary's Co. is described as a "Licentiate in physick." Dr. George Hack, who practiced both in Virginia, and Maryland, is said by a writer in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (XL, 102) to have been a graduate in medicine from Cologne.[10]

Since a few black sheep exist in almost every professional group, it is not surprising to find examples among medical men. The one who most nearly appears to be a charlatan was Peter Godson who called himself a chirurgeon. Once he was paid 180 pounds of tobacco for administering a physick. On another occasion he testified that a woman had bewitched him by inducing him to jump over crossed straws. Once he charged Bartholomew Herringe 1,430 pounds for physick and surgery on his wife, a sum which the court thought too high and reduced to 590 pounds. His wife also got into trouble by making obscene charges against another woman. In 1655 Godson was convicted of stealing a bodkin worth a shilling from the wife of John Hambleton. In the same year he was accused by Peter Sharp, another chirurgeon, with killing a certain Captain John Smith by taking too much blood from him. Also in that year when Thomas Igor complained that Godson's treatment left him worse than he was before, the court ordered Godson to return the fee of 600 pounds of tobacco.

Others besides the British practiced medicine in Maryland. Dr. George Hack of Baltimore County was a German. Mr.

[8] Maryland Wills, Hall of Records, Annapolis Ms vol. 2, p. 82.
[9] Thomas Thacker, *Brief Rule . . .* (Boston, 1677); Garrison, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
[10] *Arch. Md.*, IV, 72.

Emperor Smith was called the "Dutch doctor." Jacob Lombroso was a Portuguese Jew from Lisbon. Jacques Peon was a French chirurgeon, as were John Lemaire and John Desjardine. Jasper Guerin (probably a German) received denization in 1665. Judging by their names, one might suspect that David Kreiger, Mitchell deContie and George Horsfoord were not English in origin.[11]

At least half a dozen doctors are known to have practiced in both Virginia and Maryland. Among them we find Robert Ellyson, Thomas Gerrard, George Gunnell, George Hack, John Moorecroft, George Horsfoord and the Rev. Francis Makemie.

The doctor's equipment of that day consisted in the main of a box of medicine, salves and plasters; a clyster syringe for enemas which was a simple plunger pump; lancets for opening boils and blood letting; and a collection of saws and knives for amputations.

The local evidence available is of little help in discovering which medical books the Maryland doctors used because their wills and inventories usually list simply "a parcel of old books." The same is true of doctor's instruments. The wording in the inventory of Dr. William Hall is typical. He left "a parcel of auld Doctor's instruments, some broake and some whole." A search of the 17th century wills and inventories of every Maryland practitioner who styled himself "doctor" in his will and of some who were content to call themselves "chirurgeons" reveals no more than this. Lists of the British medical books and instruments of this century are, of course, available and we can surmise that some of them were used in Maryland. Blanton cites a list of British medical books used in Virginia but does not list his sources of information.

682472

### Ship's Chirurgeons

One source of doctors for the Province was ship's chirurgeons who remained in the colony. They must have represented a great variety of training and skill. Captain John Smith defined their position in *A Sea Grammer*: "The Chirurgeon is to be

[11] *Ibid.*, X, 396, 398, 399, 432, 434, 439, 468; XLIX, 112; III, 450; LX, xxxiv; II, 400; XIII, 514.

[12] Inventories and Accounts, Hall of Records, Ms vol. 15, p. 166.

exempt from all duty, but to attend the sicke, and cure the wounded; and good care would be that he have a certificate from Barber Chirurgeons Hall for his sufficiency, and also that his chest be well furnished both for Physicke and Chirurgery." [13] William Norman was chirurgeon of the 200 ton ship *Ruth* of London, which traded in the Chesapeake Bay. His wages at three pounds a month equalled those of the second mate and were a third larger than the boatswain's wages. In warfare the chirurgeon's portion of captured prizes was lowest among the officer's shares, but higher than the boatswain's. John Peerce who was once ship's chirurgeon of the good ship *Adventure* of Hull later lived in Talbot County where he was styled "doctor." He had attended John Coode for "seasoning" in 1672. Once a ship's chirurgeon was persuaded to come ashore from a ship going down the Bay to cure Adam Stanley on whom a tree had fallen. Dr. Peter Sharp apparently had neglected the case. The ship's chirurgeon (unnamed) came ashore and dressed the wounds twice, leaving the means and directions for dressing it later. For this service he charged a hogshead of tobacco.

Some men who had practiced in London before coming to the Province maintained this distinction from other chirurgeons. James Wasse of Talbot County was called "chirurgeon of London." John Meeks, medicus, of Charles County was also distinguished by this title. The use of the title "mister" by some Maryland chirurgeons is also reminiscent of the London distinction between doctors and chirurgeons, though there is evidence to show that some very ordinary Maryland chirurgeons did not hesitate in accepting the honorary title of doctor.[14]

## Women in Medicine

Women played a rather large part in Maryland's medical practice of this century. Many were practical nurses who took care of the sick for pay, either going to another's house, or taking the patient into their own homes. The nurse of that day had as her duties the giving of the doctor's draughts regularly, washing the linens, and watching by the bedside. When death

[13] Blanton, *op. cit.*, p. 206.
[14] *Arch. Md.*, LXVI, 301; LVII, 84, 374, 552; XLI, 162-163; LXVIII, 25; LIII, 425.

came (as it did so frequently when one was sick enough to have a nurse) she shrouded the body. After that it was customary for the nurse to help with the funeral arrangements. Among the costs of nursing was a charge for a pint of cider, beer or other liquor with which the nurse fortified herself each morning before going to work. Such charges show the following items: [15]

| | |
|---|---|
| Dyet for patient..... | three meals daily at 12 pounds of tobacco per meal |
| Dyet for nurse..... | same price |
| Pint of cider daily for nurse ..... | (at 30 lbs of tobacco per gallon) |
| Lodging for nurse.... | 4 pounds of tobacco per night |
| Payment for nurse.... | 300 pounds of tobacco per month |

Since bed pans appear in the inventories of doctors and others, it is likely that they were used in the care of the sick. The term could not have been a synonym for warming-pan because in the will of Anthony Demondidier there is listed " one warming pan " and immediately below that " two old chamber pots and one bed pan." [16]

Since it was only a short step from nursing to the practice of medicine in that day, we find some women who moved over the line. Mary, the daughter of the Rev. Francis Daughtery under her two married names (Vanderdonk and O'Neale) practiced medicine, as did Mary, the wife of Thomas Brodnox of Kent. John Cherman's wife was paid for a two months cure of a sore leg. Sometimes doctor's wives made a bit in their own practice of medicine. Mrs. Oliver Spry, the wife of the Baltimore County chirurgeon collected 600 pounds of tobacco for treatment of William Hambleton of Kent County. A Baltimore County Court records shows Mary Stansby collecting a fee, though it is not certain whether this was for her work or her husband's. She was the daughter of Oliver Spry and the wife of Doctor John Stansby. The wife of Thomas Hebden, chirurgeon, performed surgery upon the leg of John Greenfield for which her husband collected in court.[17]

[15] *Ibid.*, XIII, 179.
[16] Liber A 1 Baltimore County Inventories.
[17] *Arch. Md.*, LIII, 85, 145; LIV, 230; IV, 268.

At this time, and for about a century more, nearly all obstetrics was left to midwives. They had no formal training, though some may have learned through association, while a few had books on their trade. Among the volumes which William Pickett of Baltimore County left was one for his daughter entitled *A Dictionary for Midwives* by Nicholas Culpepper.

Damaris Wyatt, widow, was a midwife who took into her house a woman named Dorothy Bruton, being very sick and big with child. The care lasted three weeks. Mrs. Wyatt, later the wife of attorney Thomas Bland, tried to collect a hundred pounds of tobacco a day for the care, but the record fails to show whether or not she got it. Mary Clocker, called in Dr. Waldron to have his advice when Mrs. Susanna Warren was delivered of a dead child. On a number of occasions a jury of women was called to give information on an obstetrical matter. Such a jury was called at Patuxent during 1656 to search a woman's body to find if she had recently had a child. Childbirth was often safer in this century when midwives sat back and waited for nature to take its course than it was in the next century when doctors began to deliver children. Eighteenth century doctors (and later ones) who gave examinations with unsterilized fingers frequently caused puerperal infection.[18]

## Diseases

Among the afflictions often mentioned are scurvy, dropsy, flux, griping of the guts, fever, boils, putrifying sores, syphilis (known as country duties or French Pox) and seasoning. Chills, fever and sweating, which could have been malaria, are found in Maryland Records.[19] In a description of a servant, it is said that " He was troubled with the Stone." John Quigley was sick of a grievous distemper called the " Gripping of the Gutts," an illness which was also suffered by his servants. Roger Evans was described as having " the sleeping disease " which, from the context, seems to have been melancholia. Richard Hatton was treated five months for a " virulent coroded Ulcer in his Legg " by Robert Harper, the indentured physician.

[18] *Ibid.*, LXVI, xxvi; X, 171, 457.
[19] Clayton C. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 131.

A more specific diagnosis in terms of "humors" was given of Charles Howell who had "a virulent coroded ulcer . . . and a complicated distemper regnant in his body, which afforded a certain malovolent & Venemous humor to feed the said ulcerous sores." William Williamson was "languishing of several distempers of body, to witt, a certain distemper called a feavor or a seasoning." Since he also had a fractured skull caused by falling off a horse Williamson did not live long enough to pay for his "seasoning." His physician, John Wynne, is described as having practiced "physick and chirurgery with good success." In another instance it is said that Justinian Snow "is become non compos mentis & in great danger of death by a violent sickness." Barber-Chirurgeon Robert Ellyson was once found "non compos mentis through drink" for which he was fined a hundred pounds of tobacco.[20]

One of the most prominent diseases in Maryland (as in Virginia) was the "seasoning" which afflicted newcomers. Perhaps it was due in part to the poor food and the crowded conditions on ships entering the colony. It may have been caused by unsanitary crowded conditions at the port of entry where epidemic diseases started. It is likely that unfamiliar work in the hot sun brought down those with the least resistance. Blanton says[21] that planters enjoyed as much natural immunity to the malaria (known as the Kentish disorder) as did Englishmen at home. He supposes that since men once seasoned enjoyed good health and that typhoid (in which one attack confers immunity) was the major producer of "seasoning." Among the many to be cured of seasoning was John Coode, the infamous renegade Anglican priest who appears so often in Maryland records. Coode requested treatment from John Peerce, chirurgeon, in 1672. Peerce attended him constantly for six weeks, making him divers medicines—plaisters, drinks, cordials and other wholesome things to cure him. Peerce asked 10,000 pounds of tobacco for this service but was eventually allowed only half that amount by a court.[22]

A few apothecaries are mentioned. Edward Maddocks of

[20] *Arch. Md.*, XLI, 6; LXV, 546; LIII, 141; LXVI, 442; LXVIII, 294; LXVIII, 220; IV, 56; IV, 249.
[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 55.
[22] *Arch. Md.*, LXV, 393.

Charles County is referred to as " chirurgeon and apothecary." [23] In the will of Peter Sharp, chirurgeon,[24] " Nicholas Oliver who is an apothecary by profession " and a cousin of Sharpe's is a residuary legatee to lands called by the name of Claborns Island. Unfortunately, neither of these apothecaries left a will or inventory. However, the 1708 inventory of the possessions left by Zechariah Allein, a Baltimore County apothecary is helpful.[25] In addition to a quantity of pills, powder to prevent bleeding, sundry small parcels of drugs (some prepared), spirits and oyles, galley pots of salves and galley pots of ointments, the following drugs are mentioned: Crocus mettalorum, Roman vitorall, burnt allum and allum, corall, sanguis draconis, ellsbornigr, assefedity, sein famigrace, juniper berryes, sennian, Venus treacle, honey and lime juice.

Drugs mentioned elsewhere are Angelica root, savin, ratsbane, cardamon, wormseed, antimony, troches of mir, mithridate and a purging apozem. Dr. Nicholas Solbey of Charles County prescribed for one patient " epis pasticks to neck and wrist and plaister to cure them again." His treatment included bleeding, a purging potion, purging pills, pills for his Gripes, spirits of vitrioll, oyle of aniseeds and methridate deascordiv. When Mrs. Humphrey Haggat was sick her doctor sent the following: " A large plaister for pain in her hip " and other medicine, and also before seeing her, sent " euecroticem cum duplix slipticon paracilue emplaister adherna and diapalma " and a parcel of ointment to " embriate for her disease," together with three doses of troches of mir and a parcel of cardamon. " Giptiaeun " which was prescribed by a doctor is probably a clerk's misspelling of guaiacum.

During her last illness Mrs. Winchester was given sack, drams, beer, sugar, spices, prunes, wild duck and poultry stewed with butter and currants. One might assume from this treatment that Mrs. Winchester's " humors " were defective rather than excessive. Although somewhat rare such building-up diets were occasionally used. In the early history of Kent Island in Claiborne's time there are records of the use of fruit, sugar and spices for the sick. When a patient received a cordial bolus,

[23] *Ibid.*, LXV, 520.
[24] Maryland Wills, vol. 1, p. 490.
[25] I & A 29: 26.

a cordial julep and a cordial electuary it might be assumed that he was in need of a heart stimulant. Although folk medicine and not a doctor's prescription, it is worthwhile to mention "a blew stone for sore eyes" valued at thirty pounds of tobacco which is found in the inventory of Francis Brookes. Though the evidence is scanty, that which is available seems to show that in Maryland (as Blanton found in Virginia) the prescriptions were fairly simple, unlike the elaborate polypharmacy often used during this century in England.[26]

In the early days of the Province there was hope that Indian remedies would be of value to the English. According to one of the records of the time "The Countrey affords naturally, many excellent things for Physicke and Surgery, the perfect use of which, the English cannot yet learn from the Natives." [27] From the variety of Indian medicines the innocuous use of sassafras tea and of poke-weed as a spring tonic seem to be the only ones which were used, and these became a sort of folk-medicine, which is still in occasional use. Sassafras tea is an infusion of the bark of roots of S. variifolium. Small sucker trees which come up on the edge of a clearing are preferred, only the upper few inches of roots not more than an inch in diameter being best. The root bark, taken in early spring, is cut off in small flakes which are then dried. The resulting tea is pleasing in color and not unpleasant to taste. The early spring shoots of poke-weed are used like asparagus but, to most people, are less palatable. Although the settlers, like the Indians, thought that sweating was beneficial in sickness they (unlike the Indians) did not follow the sweating with a bath. The frequent charges for bedding "rotted out" by sick persons leads to the suspicion that sick persons were often left lying in their filth.

The fear of disease caused by drinking water was widespread in the colonies. It was offset by drinking beer as long as that was available, and thereafter tempering the water with some alcoholic liquor. Captain George Thope pointed out as early as 1620 that Virginians had found a way to make a good drink from Indian corn, which he preferred to English beer. As

[26] *Arch. Md.*, LX, 367; LIII, 466; XLI, 164; LIV, 222; X, 389; LX, xxxiii. *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVIII, 33.
[27] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

Blanton states, this may have been the origin of corn whiskey in the English colonies.[28] The Spaniards seem to have made the discovery at an earlier time. Blanton also states that Gonzalo Ximines of New Granada, who died in 1546, wrote that "Maize steeped in water, boiled, and afterward fermented makes a very strong liquor."

## Medical Costs

Medical charges were almost invariably cited in pounds of tobacco, which was the chief type of currency in the Province.

An early law of the Province (1640) gave the county courts the right to moderate the bills, wages and rates of "artificers, labourers and chirurgeons." In 1692 the Assembly said "it is further Reported to us as a great Grievance that Chirurgeons and Phisitions in this Province Charge them with excessive ffees." Doctors were then requested to charge only 10 pounds of tobacco per mile travelled on calls, and to list the original cost of medicines plus their own added charges.[29]

Col. George Wells, who practiced medicine in Baltimore and neighboring counties, charged Capt. Thomas Howell's estate thirty pounds of tobacco for a dozen pills, sixty pounds for a pectoral Julip and forty pounds for a cordiall, which sums were questioned by the heirs and disallowed in court. On another occasion Wells was bitterly criticized by Joseph Groden, a Philadelphia Quaker, for charging excessive fees in a Baltimore County case in which Groden had an interest.[30]

A more modest bill was presented by John Wade, chirurgeon in 1652. His bill is as follows.[31]

| | |
|---|---|
| vomitive potion | 20 lbs of tobacco |
| for breathing a vein | 20 |
| Phlebotomy with diaphoretic and sudorific cordials and corroboratives | 300 |
| five dormitive cordialls | 200 |
| other astringent means | 150 |
| Two visits | 250 |

[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 108.
[29] *Arch. Md.*, I, 97; XIII, 356.
[30] *Ibid.*, LXVII, 352. Groden Letter in the Chew Papers, Harford County Hist. Soc.
[31] *Arch. Md.*, XIII, 178; LXVIII, 172.

Humphrey Davenport, chirurgeon, of Talbot County presented the following bill:

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 journeys to his house | 600 lbs of tobacco |
| 7 Glisters at 30 lbs each | 210 |
| 4 cordial Julipps | 150 |
| 5 purges at 30 lbs each | 150 |
| 4 doses of electuary cordial at 30 lbs | 150 |

In 1678 Samuel Lane, a doctor of physick accustomed to practice in Maryland, treated Charles Gosfright for more than a month of sickness and violent distemper. After the patient's death the doctor sued for 8,940 pounds of tobacco. Since no detailed bill was filed with the suit, the court stated that it had no way of estimating the proper amount for visits and treatment. Consequently, the doctor not only failed to collect his bill but was compelled to pay the court cost of 730 pounds of tobacco.[32]

A very modest doctor's bill is found in the Baltimore County Court Records: [33]

visits at prices from 10 to 100 pounds of tobacco each

| | |
|---|---|
| bleeding | 2 lbs of tobacco |
| doses of powder | 6 |
| pectoral syrup | 4 |
| lotion for mouth | 3 |
| 2 bottles of dyett drink | 5 |
| 2 bottles of pectoral julip | 5 |
| man and horse to carry medicines | 3 |

Often a bargain was struck between the patient and physician before treatment was undertaken, but even this did not always prevent a lawsuit when the patient (or his heirs) later came to the conclusion that the price was excessive.

Henry Hooper made an agreement with the Governor in 1650 to serve the Governor as a chirurgeon for a year, the Governor to provide him with drugs, food and lodging, allowing him to keep two-thirds of the amounts which he earned by his practice.[34]

[32] *Ibid.*, LXVIII, 220.
[33] Baltimore County Court Records Liber D, p. 8.
[34] *Arch. Md.*, X, 96.

Sometimes old or sick people contracted with others to maintain them. Such contracts were often made with inn keepers, who occasionally lost money when they accepted a flat sum for life care. A typical payment in sickness was 150 pounds of tobacco a month which was sufficient to provide lodging, dyett and tending to in sickness for a person with ulcerated sores.[35]

Not all doctors extended professional courtesy to other practitioners. Richard Tilghman, doctor of physick and chirurgeon of Talbot County (who was also county sheriff) charged the estate of Bartholomew Glevin, chirurgeon of Kent County, 340 pounds of tobacco for physic administered to Glevin. Glevin must not have had much practice since he died leaving only 200 acres of worthless land.

Chirurgeons sometimes made autopsies of a sort for the courts. Chirurgeons Richard Maddokes and Mr. Emperor Smith were commissioned to disinter the body of Henry Gouge who might have been murdered by his master. They were to view the body in the presence of the neighbors and to report in its condition, as well as to bring the head to court " carefully lapped up and warily brought." For this unpleasant task they received a hogshead of tobacco to be divided between them.

On another occasion two chirurgeons, Clifton and Brooke, were commissioned to perform a dissection on a servant's body in an attempt to determine whether or not he had been beaten to death by his master. Their report stated that they opened two suspicious places. " The cutis and cuticula layed bare, noe contusion could be found upon the musculus part or ffleshy pannicle. . . . The body being opened . . . clere of inward bruises either upon the diaphrugma or within the ribbs. The lungs were of a livid blewish culler full of putrid ulcers, the liver not much putrid although it seemed to be affected by reason of its pale & wann Couller; the Purse of the Heart was putrid and rotten, by which we gather that this person by course of nature could not have lived long, Putrifaccon being gott so near unto that noble part of the hart even att the doore." [36]

[35] *Ibid.*, LXVI, 253; LIV, 393; LXVI, 193.
[36] *Ibid.*, X, 524; XLIX, 307.

## Epidemics

It is possible to distinguish a few periods of epidemic disease in the Maryland records, though it would be hazardous to guess at the nature of the diseases. In the *Annual Letter of the Jesuits* written in 1638 it is said of a person that " he indeed, after enduring severe toils for the space of five years with the greatest patience, humility and ardent love, chanced to be siezed by the disease prevalent at the time."

Radbill in writing of the Delaware area said that there was a great distemper in the year 1657-8 in the Atlantic Coast colonies.[38]

A distemper occurred during the winter of 1663-4 which was evidently of epidemic proportions, being widespread enough to cause the adjournment of the Provincial Court.[39]

The greatest information is about the winter of 1697-8 when an epidemic disease of some sort was prevalent in the southern counties, causing people to come for cure to the Cool Springs of St. Mary's County. These springs were at the present location of Charlotte Hall.[40] The reputation of the springs quickly spread as far as New York. Among those who came were poor people in large numbers, causing the Provincial authorities to buy the springs with fifty acres of land, to appropriate money for the erection of houses to accommodate the needy, and to provide them with fuel and other necessities. Though this public provision of houses was scarcely a hospital in the modern sense, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants called this the second hospital in the American colonies.[41] The first hospital was the almshouse erected in New Amsterdam by the Dutch East India Company in 1658 from which the modern Bellevue Hospital claims descent. Earlier hospitals on this continent had been built by the Spanish in Mexico City (1524) and by the French in Canada (1639).

Although the conclusions stated here are based upon partial

[37] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[38] Francis X. Radbill, " The Barber-Surgeons Among the Early Dutch and Swedes Along the Delaware," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* (Baltimore, 1936), pp. 730-731.

[39] *Arch. Md.*, XLIX, 94.

[40] *Ibid.*, XXII, 22, 61, 279.

[41] *The Second Hospital in the Colonies, Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin* XV (Jan. 1904).

evidence and may be amplified when the remainder of the seventeenth century court records are published, it is not likely that the findings will be greatly changed. The unpublished seventeenth century court records will fill twenty or thirty volumes and are being published at the rate of one a year. There is a probability that the as yet unpublished records (which are chiefly those of the last twenty years of the century) will disclose a greater number of apothecaries and a larger list of drugs, as well as the names of many more doctors.

Maryland had a very few well qualified practitioners and many with small training. For the most part they were men of modest social standing, though Army colonels, lawyers, members of the Assembly, county justices, members of the Governor's Council and even a deputy governor practiced medicine. Most of the doctoring was a part time activity of men whose chief work was growing tobacco. Compared to some other colonies there seem to have been few of the clergy who practiced medicine. There is no evidence at all of pholypharmacy, except in the use of antidotes for poisons such as Mithridates and Venice treacle. The medicines used seem to have been comparatively few, and not elaborately combined. Since resort to doctors was had only in extremity, the patients often died during treatment just as they would have died without it. Occasionally there was an attempt to build up a patient with rich foods and delicacies, though more often the treatment consisted of purging, blood letting, numerous cordials and tonics with medication for external sores and wounds.

# SIDELIGHTS

## "MR. LINCOLN ATTENDS CHURCH" *

By Samuel Eliot Morison

Easter Sunday came early in 1861, as in 1961; a hundred years ago it fell on the last day of March, and so the 24th of February, just a century and two days ago, was the second Sunday in Lent.

Let us briefly throw our minds back to that day, when Washington was a straggling mid-century American town of 75,000 people, of whom 11,000 were Negroes, and of them, 3200 were slaves. Even at that, Washington was too big for its breeches, having grown 50 per cent in the last ten years; and, except for Major l'Enfant's plan, which promised well for the future, the city was completely lacking in distinction. Almost every street was unpaved, and horse-drawn busses afforded the only public transportation. The only public buildings were the half-finished Capitol, the unenlarged White House, the Treasury, the Smithsonian, and the Corcoran (now called the Old Court of Claims building) at Pennsylvania Avenue and 17th Street. State, Army, Navy, and Interior were housed in 2- and 3-story brick buildings that have long since been taken down. Everyone who was anybody lived on or near Lafayette Square, or between it and cosy Georgetown. The incomplete Washington monument, built up to only one third of its height, and the unfinished dome of the Capitol, surmounted by an unseemly fringe of derricks, seemed symbols of the mess of unfinished business that the spineless Buchanan administration had left for Lincoln to tackle. Here is what young Henry Adams thought of our nation's capital: "As in 1800 and 1850, so in 1860, the same rude colony was camped in the same forest, with the same unfinished Greek temples for work-rooms and sloughs for roads The government had an air of social instability and incompleteness that went far to support the right of secession in theory as in fact; . . . secession was likely to be easy where there was so little to secede from." [1]

We were still a young country. Only 72 years had elapsed since George Washington was inaugurated the first President of the United States at New York. Many of us here today can remember

* Address at St. John's Church, Washington, D. C., Feb. 26, 1961.

[1] *The Education of Henry Adams* (1918 ed.), p. 99.

the year 1900; so many people in this congregation a century ago could recall the year 1800, when there had been no Washington, D. C. The leading citizens of Washington certainly could—Chief Justice Taney, born in 1777, was only a year younger than the United States; Lieutenant General Winfield Scott, ranking general of the Army, veteran both of the War of 1812 and the Mexican War, was 14 years old when the Federal Government moved from Philadelphia to Washington. President Buchanan himself was born in President Washington's first administration. In less than a century our Federal Republic had proved republican government on a large scale to be possible, had become a banner to liberal and democratic forces in the western world; had expanded from the Alleghanies to the Pacific; and, in writers like Poe, Irving, Emerson, and Prescott, proved that intellectual distinction could thrive under democratic institutions. Yet here we were, in February 1861, divided into two confederacies, trembling on the verge of civil war. Patriots and sages were praying, " O God, let us not by our wrath and folly lose all that we have achieved; let not our republic sink with Nineveh and Tyre—let not the hope of the world, as Turgot called America in 1778, become the world's laughing-stock! "

You probably expect me to draw a parallel between the situation a century ago, and the situation today. I am not insensible that President Kennedy faces a challenging situation in foreign policy and national defense; but President Lincoln's problems were other than these. The nearest contemporary parallel that I can see to Lincoln's situation a century ago is that of General de Gaulle in respect of the Algerian problem. In both instances, an irresistible force has encountered an immovable body and the conflict is seemingly irreconcilable; only surrender to the secessionists in our case, or to the Algerian rebels in his, could then prevent, or now conclude, a civil war.

In one respect, however, there is a striking resemblance between our situation today and that of a century ago. Here, a fresh, young administration has just come into national power; in 1861 a fresh, young administration was about to come in; for inauguration day then was the 4th of March, not the 20th of January. President-elect Abraham Lincoln, and Vice President-elect Hannibal Hamlin, were each 52 years old, nine years older than President Kennedy; but they were the first Presidential team to be born in the 19th century, as President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson are the first team to be born in the 20th century. And their first problems were appointments and patronage. I don't know whether President Kennedy has been as much harassed as President Lincoln was by

ambitious aspirants for cabinet positions and by ordinary office seekers; I hope not, but he can hardly have been more beat upon than Lincoln was during his first ten days in Washington. The methods and principles of constructing a new administration have changed in a hundred years insofar that the major prizes do not now necessarily go to politicians.

And how different, essentially, were the presidential situations in 1861 and 1961! President Kennedy has entered office as candidate of the nation-wide, ancient and respectable Democratic party. President Lincoln had been elected by the sectional, six-year-old, and somewhat disreputable Republican party, which had polled a mere handful of votes south of the Mason and Dixon Line. Although President Kennedy has to deal with a "flight of the dollar" to Europe, the national treasury is healthy, and the credit of the United States is sound; but in January 1861, owing to uncertainty as to the country's future, the United States Treasury was so depleted that senators and congressmen were unable to draw their pay; and when President Buchanan's Secretary of the Treasury advertised for bids for $5 million in treasury notes to tide over the crisis, this effort would have failed, and the government would have defaulted its January interest payments, had not "a few patriotic gentlemen in New York" come to the government's rescue, charging 12½ per cent interest for this patriotic gesture. Kennedy entered into office President of a country of 179 million people, with the good wishes of all, save a few fanatics; he had a majority of the popular vote as well as in the electoral college; Lincoln was chosen President by 180 electoral votes to 123 for the other three candidates, but received only a plurality in the popular vote. He and his party were regarded with loathing and horror by almost the entire South, and with distrust and contempt by thousands of solid citizens in the North. And Abraham Lincoln came into power after seven states had seceded, the Southern Confederacy had been formed, and Jefferson Davis, inaugurated president at Montgomery, had announced that he would entertain no proposition whatsoever for the reconstruction of the Union.

It is no exaggeration to say that the feeling toward Lincoln in many parts of this country in February 1861 can be compared only to what the feeling would be in this congregation if a communist had just been elected President. Claiborne Jackson, Governor of Missouri, announced that the election of Lincoln was "a declaration of war upon the whole slave property of the Southern States, . . . a moral dissolution of the Union." [2] The Richmond Semi-Weekly

[2] Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, the War Years* (1944 printing), I, 32.

*Examiner*, on 1 March 1861, described the President Elect as "the Abolition orang-outang that skulked to Washington the other day from the wilds of Illinois, and who will, in three days more, be propped in the Chair of Washington by the sword of a military dictator." [3]

The phrase "skulked to Washington" hurt, and for this reason. General Winfield Scott had been sold a cock-and-bull story by the Pinkerton detective agency that there was a secessionist plot to assassinate the President Elect as he passed through Baltimore. At the urgent entreaty of his nearest friends, and of Senator Seward, to whom General Scott communicated the "plot," Lincoln consented to omit his scheduled stop at Baltimore on 23 February, and be routed through the city at night. At Philadelphia he obtained a lower berth in the night train from New York to Washington. This deliberate by-passing of Baltimore would not have mattered, had not an irresponsible newshawk dressed up a story to the effect that Lincoln "skulked" through Baltimore "disguised in a military coat and a Scotch cap." The cartoonists of New York and other cities then took a perverse pleasure in drawing sketches of the President in this bizarre but wholly fictitious disguise; and, even without it, the suggestion that he was afraid to risk a short carriage drive through the streets of Baltimore did not help Lincoln's reputation.

I feel a personal interest in this episode, as my grandfather lived in Baltimore, and my father remembered the excitement and turmoil of the early months of 1861. His uncle, George William Brown, was then mayor of the city, and responsible for its good order. Outraged over the plot yarn, Mayor Brown later wrote a book to prove that it never existed.[2] The truth of this contention may be considered proved by the fact that Mrs. Lincoln and her three sons, who held to the original schedule, stopped over at Baltimore, and with no untoward incident occurring, lunched at the house of Colonel John Sterrett Gittings on Mount Vernon Square. And, as my wife is a descendant of Colonel Gittings, we share a personal interest in defending the fair name of the Monument City!

Lincoln arrived in Washington at 6:00 a. m., Saturday February 23, at the old Baltimore and Ohio depot on New Jersey Avenue and C Street NW. So secret had his change of schedule been kept that he was met by only one man, Congressman Washburne of Illinois,

[3] Quoted *ibid.*, I, 119.

[4] George William Brown, *Baltimore on the Nineteenth of April, 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1887).

who, when he rushed forward to grasp the hand of the President Elect, was mistaken by one of Lincoln's companions for a ruffian, and narrowly escaped being knocked down. Mr. Washburne drove Lincoln to Willard's Hotel, on the site of the present New Willard, Pennsylvania Avenue and 14th Street.[5]

The modest congressional committee on arrangements—one congressman and one senator—originally planned to have the Lincolns accept the hospitality of Senator Seward until they could move into the White House. This was rejected for two reasons—Mrs. Lincoln entertained a strong dislike for Seward, and Thurlow Weed, the New York politician, wished Lincoln to put up at a hotel, so he could be "accessible to the people"—i. e., to office seekers. The committee engaged rooms at the National Hotel, on Pennsylvania Avenue between 4th and 6th Streets; but Mrs. Lincoln turned that down because she remembered that in 1856 a number of the guests at that hotel, including Governor Quitman of Mississippi, had died of ptomaine poisoning. The committee then turned to the Willard, the newest and most elegant hotel in the Capital, and found it to be full. William E. Dodge, a dry-goods merchant of New York City, was, however, persuaded to relinquish to the Lincoln family a "parlor suite" on the second floor, facing Pennsylvania Avenue. This favor Mr. Dodge improved by calling on Lincoln, haranguing him about the poor state of business in New York, and begging him to appease the South so that he could move his goods from the shelves.[6]

On that Saturday, 23 February, Lincoln breakfasted with Senator Seward, whose substantial brick mansion stood on the site of the old Belasco Theatre at 1325 F Street, just around the corner from the Willard. Lincoln and Seward then made a formal call on poor twittering President Buchanan at the White House, and met the President's cabinet. Mrs. Lincoln and the three boys arrived at Willard's hotel about 4 p. m., but she did not accompany him that evening to Senator Seward's, where he dined.[7]

The so-called Peace Convention was still sitting, in an old theatre annexed to the Willard Hotel. This convention of state delegates had been summoned by Virginia in the hope of working out a compromise which, if adopted as constitutional amendments, would keep the border slave states in the Union, and possibly even persuade the seceded states to return to Uncle Sam. Presided over by ex-president John Tyler, the Peace Convention comprised over

[5] Earl S. Miers, *Lincoln Day by Day*, III (1960), p. 22.
[6] Carl Sandburg, *op. cit.*, I, 87, 89-90.
[7] Earl S. Miers, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

a hundred delegates from 21 states, including some very distinguished men, such as Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, David Dudley Field and James S. Wadsworth of New York, William Cabell Rives of Virginia, Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, William Pitt Fessenden of Maine and Lucius C. Chittenden of Vermont. That Saturday evening, Lincoln held an informal reception for the peace convention delegates in his hotel parlor. Senator Rives, the veteran Virginia statesman, who had studied law with Thomas Jefferson, and had represented the United States at the courts of Louis Philippe and Napoleon III, was favorably impressed with the President Elect; he remarked to another delegate that Lincoln was no ignorant boor, to be used as a tool by more able men; that he "will be the head of his administration, and he will do his own thinking." Senator Rives could find no fault with his views as expressed that evening.[8]

This does not mean that Lincoln made any promises. Not only the peace convention delegates, but John Bell and Stephen A. Douglas, whom Lincoln had defeated for the Presidency, and many others, too, begged him to appease the South, especially to promise never to coerce the seceding states. That he declined to do; but both before and after his inauguration he offered to promise not to reinforce Fort Sumter, if the Virginia convention which had been summoned to consider secession would disband "without any fuss or bother." That, neither Senator Rives nor any other Virginian would undertake to do. Lincoln was inflexible in refusing to countenance any compromise involving the further extension of slavery into the United States territory, but he supported what I call the "never-never" amendment to the Constitution as proposed by the Peace Convention. This was an amendment to the effect that Congress never would by law, and the people never would by subsequent amendment, interfere with slavery in the States or in the District of Columbia. The "never-never" amendment was actually adopted by Congress on the last day of the Buchanan administration and shortly after ratified by Ohio; but the outbreak of civil war rendered it obsolete.

Also, on the very eve of his inauguration, Lincoln, at the earnest request of Congressman Alexander R. Boteler of Virginia, used his influence to defeat the so-called Force Bill introduced by the Republicans in Congress, giving the President complete authority over all state militia; a bill which, in Boteler's opinion, "if passed, would force Virginia out of the Union." Boteler reported that Mr. Lincoln "was a kind-hearted man . . . willing to allow the moderate

[8] Carl Sandburg, *op. cit.*, I, 90; Lucius E. Chittenden, *Recollections of Lincoln.*

men of the South a fair opportunity to make further efforts for a settlement of our intestine and internecine difficulties, and that he was by no means disposed to interfere, directly or indirectly, with the institutions of slavery in any of the States, or to yield to the clamorous demand of those bloody-minded extremists, who were then so very keen to . . . 'let slip the dogs of war.'" [9] Yet, as we know, all these efforts went for naught when the Confederates fired on the flag at Fort Sumter.

The Second Sunday in Lent, 24 February 1861 dawned bright and fair. The Lincoln family breakfasted quietly in their hotel parlor; and after breakfast Abraham Lincoln, dressed in a plain black suit, wearing one of the new top hats he had bought in New York, with his hair and beard neatly trimmed by the hotel barber, accompanied Senator Seward on foot to St. John's Church, where Seward owned a pew. The Washington *Evening Star,* which seems even then to have gone in for pleasant personalities, reported that the people who observed the President Elect, and whose mental image of him was derived from rail-splitter and Scotch cap cartoons, found him to be a very different person; "Some of the ladies say that in fact he is almost good-looking!" said the *Star.*

To the best of my knowledge Lincoln had never before worshipped in an Episcopalian Church. Although a deeply sincere Christian, he belonged to no particular sect, and Mrs. Lincoln was a Presbyterian. But he told Senator Seward that he wished to attend service on this, the last Sunday but one before his inauguration, and accepted the Senator's invitation to share his pew. Mrs. Lincoln did not accompany him; why I do not know. Possibly it was due to her extreme dislike of Seward; possibly she feared that Tad and Willie might not behave themselves in church, and did not wish to leave them unattended in the hotel.

It is unlikely that Lincoln was familiar with the Book of Common Prayer. We may assume that the Senator held his copy open for the President Elect, and guided his eye to the canticles and the responses. Lincoln always enjoyed singing, so we may be sure that he entered heartily into that part of the service.

The rector, the Reverend Smith Pyne, preached from the text I Corinthians vii: 31 "And they that use this world, as not abusing it: for the fashion of this world passeth away." The sermon had nothing to do with Lincoln or the situation, as the rector did not know that the President Elect was coming, and was so near-sighted that he failed to recognize him when he arrived. The subject, a warning against being too worldly and fashionable in Lent, was

[9] *Ibid.,* I, 117, 119.

doubtless edifying, but hardly needed by the rail-splitter from Illinois, was was not addicated to fashionable display.

I wonder whether he listened attentively to the sermon? I fear not, for terrific problems were agitating his mind. Let us hope that at least he relaxed, as many of us are apt to do with less excuse. Perhaps he took this opportunity to offer silent prayers of his own for the divine guidance which he so desperately needed in that great crisis of the Republic.

After service Lincoln walked with Seward to the Senator's house, lunched briefly, and spent two hours conferring over the Inaugural Address. The first draft of this Address had been set up in galley proof at Springfield, and so far nobody but Lincoln and Senator Browning had seen it. Seward thought that the original conclusion of the Address—"With you, and not with me, is the solemn question, 'Shall it be peace, or a sword?'" was too defiant. He suggested that "words of affection . . . of calm and cheerful confidence," be used at the end. And, being Seward, he wrote out that afternoon exactly what he thought the President should say. Lincoln adopted the Senator's suggestion as to words of affection and cheerful confidence, but wrote them in his own way, proving his mastery of English prose, as he later became a master of men.

So, we may assume that during a quiet service of morning prayer in St. John's Church, Lincoln found inspiration for that noble paragraph which closes his Inaugural address:

> I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearth-stone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

The gods willed otherwise.

Lincoln, inaugurated President on 4 March, adopted a cautious, waiting policy; and in the first month of his term he was fond of quoting Exodus xiv: 13—"And Moses said unto the people, Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord." On the 12th of April the Lord's salvation manifested itself in dubious form —the Confederates firing on Fort Sumter. Three days later the Union. "Both parties deprecated war," as Lincoln himself put it, "but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. *And the war came.*" To a Swiss publicist, De Gasparin, who inquired

why he had accepted the gage of Battle, Lincoln replied: "I can only say that I have acted upon my best convictions without selfishness or malice, and that by the help of God, I shall continue to do so." [10]

Here we may leave Abraham Lincoln, proud to think that a service in St. John's Church may have had some part in guiding him to right decisions, and in preserving his great heart from bitterness and rancor. We would like to feel that Lincoln remembered that quiet Second Sunday in Lent, 1861, when, four years later, he concluded his Second Inaugural: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

[10] Earl S. Miers, *op. cit.*, III, 131-2

# REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Alexander Wilson Naturalist and Pioneer.* By Robert Cantwell. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1961. 319. 8 col. pl., 12 pl. black and white. $15.

This new biography of Alexander Wilson, the shy poet of Paisley, is a charming and enlightening book. Beautifully produced and lavishly illustrated in color with bird plates from Wilson's immortal *American Ornithology,* Mr. Cantwell's book commands attention of all lovers of the out-of-doors, and of American history. Something has always been confusing about Alexander Wilson and his life and work. Born in 1766, Wilson was already 36 before he began the book on American birds which was to make him famous, and he died not much more than ten years later. The early life in Scotland has always been shrouded in mystery. Mr. Cantwell has done a great deal to dispel the mists of time. The new material in this book is undoubtedly the account of Wilson's younger days, his strange life, partly a spinner, partly an intinerant peddler and pack-man, a sort of " Fuller-Brush man " of the 1780's, with his ups and downs, sometimes sleeping at an inn where he could afford to pay for his dinner, sometimes sleeping in the fields or a deserted farm building along the roadside.

Wilson's father was a retired smuggler who had taken to the looms and made himself respectable. Young Alexander had no real education. His reading was meager, but in the days of the emergence of Robert Burns as a new star in the firmament, he began, slowly enough at first, to hobnob with printers, journeymen traders in paper and ink, and gradually to make himself into a writer and poet. His literary efforts of the years in Scotland show him as a lover, not of nature, but of the contemporary scene that he knew, mills, spinners, the early factories and cottage industries of semi-rural Scotland. It was in this context that he made himself known in Edinburgh at a poetry festival, where he took second prize. In addition, it was this love of industry and of the common man which eventually led to his undoing, his arrest in Paisley, suspected of having written anonymous doggerel against one of the local leading business men. In 1792 Wilson was jailed, and held in jail long beyond his normal time for a trial. He was fined and convicted of having perjured himself over the affair. No guilt was

finally proved, but Wilson's admissions of complicity left a stain on his record for all to see in the Scotland of the day.

These difficulties, which appear in retrospect to be largely political, coupled with an apparent unhappy love affair in which Wilson felt that he could not court successfully a Miss M'Lean, a girl of higher station than himself, forced the young tradesman to seek solace in the new world of America. Wilson and a friend landed from shipboard near Wilmington in 1794, but although industry was flourishing along the Brandywine there was no room for young weavers. Philadelphia was equally inhospitable. Yellow fever had decimated the population and the city was paralyzed at the time of Wilson's arrival. Eventually the young poet secured a job as a schoolteacher in a neighboring town, and this and a succeeding job later on in another school, were to be his closest links with a formal education.

While at his first school at Milestown near the Delaware River, Alexander Wilson appeared to become seriously interested in studying the birds of North America. The story develops from there. Friendship with John Bartram and other local naturalists of Philadelphia soon developed. Finally a plan came to him to develop a prospectus of a book on birds. Leaving his school, selling subscriptions, dealings with publishers, the rest is history including the fateful meeting with another young artist in a frontier town, John James Audubon. The book developed, subscriptions were sold, Wilson traveled, west to the frontier, south to New Orleans, north to the relatively inhospitable climes of New England. In these years he developed his strong association with George Ord, a wealthy amateur of Philadelphia, who, as everyone knows, completed the last part of the eventual work, for Wilson died in 1813, still young, still not quite understood. The mystery has deepened with the years. But at least this biography is more explicit than any I have so far read. The material at hand is more complete, the picture it gives is painted in more assured strokes. Wilson emerges as far more of a personality than would have seemed possible a few years ago. This book is a must for any student of the development of American ornithology, or indeed of the natural history of the North American Continent.

Here and there are a few errors, especially in the labelling of the plates. One wonders who advised Mr. Cantwell as to the identity of all his birds chosen for the reproductions. Buntings are not warblers, nor do we have the tufted duck in this country. The blue goose is the blue goose and not a female snow goose, and the "pied" duck is perhaps better described as the extinct Labrador duck, a bird which to our sorrow has become as dead as the dodo.

These are all minor carpings and set out only to emphasize what should be at once apparent to anyone who partakes of this delightful volume. It is written "con amore" and deserves a wide circle of readers.

S. Dillon Ripley 2nd.

*Yale University,*
*NewHaven, Conn.*

*Delaware during the Civil War: A Political History.* By Harold Hancock. Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware, 1961. 197. $5.

Much of the story of the border states in the Civil War has not been readily available. Professor Hancock's study remedies this deficiency for Delaware. Published by the Historical Society of Delaware and comprising articles that appeared originally (1956-1958) in the Society's publication, Delaware History, it is a scholarly, well-organized, and valuable contribution.

Marylanders will find many parallels with their own State. Delaware's sharp division in sentiment is amply demonstrated by Hancock's background survey, by the statements of officials and private persons, by the press, legislative actions and communications to and from Washington, and by state elections and the vacillation and uncertainty of Delaware's early war governor, William Burton, a Democrat.

Newcastle County (including Wilmington), was staunchly Union while Kent and Sussex Counties were strongly pro-Southern. Yet few in the State were willing to give substantial aid to the South or bear arms for it. Professor Hancock estimates that not over 200-500 Delawareans fought for the Confederacy. On the other hand, in proportion to its population, Delaware furnished more men to the Northern armies than any other State.

The author weaves the complicated political story skillfully. He analyzes the decisive 1860 victory of the Breckinridge forces in Delaware, a victory gained by spreading fear that a Republican victory would mean abolition of slavery (Delaware, in 1860, had 1,798 slaves in a population of 112,216), a change in the status of free Negroes (19,829), and the dissolution of the Union. Although bitterness existed between U. S. Senators James A. Bayard and Willard Saulsbury, termed Peace Democrats by Hancock, the nevertheless represented the majority feeling in Delaware on the issues of the day. Republicans elected George P. Fisher to Congress in 1860, lost to the Democrat William Temple in 1862 but upon his

death in 1863 elected Nathaniel B. Smithers in a special election and then reelected him in 1864. The Republican William Cannon was elected governor, in 1862. But despite these successes and the expenditure of large sums of money and the use of troops at three elections, the Republican party was unable to wrest general state control from the Democrats.

Delaware followed activities in Maryland closely, with both Southern sympathizers and Unionists looking for leadership. The latter were much alarmed by Lee's movements into Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1862 and 1863.

Professor Hancock concludes that Delaware "paid homage" to both North and South, giving complete allegiance to neither, and had no effect on the course of national events.

This volume is well illustrated and contains a full bibliography and an adequate index.

CHARLES B. CLARK

*Upper Iowa University,*
*Fayette, Iowa*

*My Dearest Polly. Letters of Chief Justice Marshall to His Wife, with Their Background, Political and Domestic, 1779-1831.* By FRANCES NORTON MASON. Richmond, Va.; Garrett and Massie Inc., 1961. 386. $5.

On Christmas Day, 1831, the first anniversary of the death of Mary Ambler Marshall, her husband wrote a tribute to her which ended: "I have lost her! And with her I have lost the solace of my life! Yet she remains still the companion of my retired hours,—still occupies my inmost bosom. When I am alone and unemployed, my mind unceasingly turns to her." Such was the final written evidence of the love of John Marshall, the Chief Justice of the United States, for his afflicted wife—a love sustained without diminishment over a period of fifty-two years. His selfless devotion, a byword among his contemporaries, became a legend that has been passed down through succeeding generations.

Forty-three letters written by Marshall to his "Polly" are the framework of Mrs. Mason' book. She states that it is the first time all of them have been published in full; some have not appeared in print before. No letters from Polly to John are known to exist and in his correspondence references to her having written him are few. Solicitous of her health he frequently pleads for a letter from her but without success. What reassuring news he gets comes second hand from other members of the family.

In fact there is not a scrap of evidence from Polly herself to tell us what she was like. All we know about the subject of one of the most remarkable manifestations of a husband's love rests on the testimony of her adoring mate, the recollections of friends and neighbors, the reports of her sister Eliza Ambler Carrington who was as outspoken as Polly was reticent, and one or two letters written her by her children. These last give the impression that she was an object of their affection and a parent to whom they turned in need. Mrs. Mason undertakes manfully to fill the void by imagining what Polly's feelings and remarks might have been and attributing them to her. The result is not altogether convincing. Mrs. Marshall we are told suffered from melancholia which took the form of extreme nervousness. A letter of Judge Marshall's penned with profuse apologies asks a neighbor to do something about a barking dog that is keeping Mrs. Marshall awake. During one of her later illnesses he had nearby streets covered with straw to deaden the sound of traffic.

The letters, written when the Judge was on official business in Philadelphia and Washington, on his mission to France, and when riding circuit are not exceptional. They deal chiefly with family matters though there are occasional references to the great events of the day. It is their political and domestic background supplied by Mrs. Mason that makes the book. The decades following the American Revolution were critical ones in which the impelling question was whether the new nation would survive. Through his interpretation of the Constitution the Chief Justice played a leading role in directing the course of events. Mrs. Mason handles the many details with assurance and understanding. She not only reveals a thorough knowledge of the social life of Richmond in the Marshalls' day but also that of Philadelphia and Washington.

John Marshall was the eldest of fifteen children of Thomas and Mary Keith Marshall, all of whom lived to maturity and produced prodigious offspring. John and Polly themselves had ten children of whom six survived to present them with 26 grandchildren during Polly's lifetime. No wonder so many people today boast direct descent or blood kinship with the Chief Justice. Mrs. Mason steers an unswerving course through the intricacies of the Marshall and Ambler lines. Nevertheless the genealogical tables at the end of the book are a welcome inclusion.

FRANCIS F. BEIRNE

*Baltimore, Md.*

*George Washington's Mother.* By Alice Curtis Desmond. New York; Dodd, Meade Co., 1961. 235. $3.50.

Despite antagonism toward fictionized history, this reviewer enjoyed Mrs. Desmond's latest biography in a series on historic American women. To be sure, there is little to tell of Mary Ball Washington herself except that she was the mother of a great son. To her, however, must go credit for much of the development of that son's character. She was not an endearing person. Her life was unlike that of the mythological eighteenth century Virginia lady, for her husband had left her with a large family to bring up on very little income. The author has brought out Mary Washington's independence and her hard work, as well as her narrowness and lack of finesse. By careful research she has given a reliable picture of the family life of brothers, sisters, children and grandchildren constituting the Washington clan.

Rosamond R. Beirne

*Baltimore, Md.*

*Sailing Rams: A History of Sailing Ships Built in and Near Sussex County, Delaware.* By James E. Marvil, M. D. Laurel, Del. Published by the author, 1962. 255. $7.50.

At last here is a book many of us have been waiting for!

The story of the ram, a distinctive type of vessel originating in the Chesapeake Bay, is traced from its inception when the *Edwin & Maud* was built in 1899 (now the *Victory Chimes,* sailing out of Castine, Maine, as a charter party boat) to the *Jennie D. Bell,* now tied up in Salisbury. Spun in a homesy manner on simple paper, but electric typewriter clear, and profusely illustrated, Dr. Marvil's book gives the story of 358 vessels, mostly sailing, and traces the careers of 46 local captains and sailing families.

While Sussex County, Delaware, is not Maryland, these vessels belong to the Chesapeake Bay, for all ram shipyards were on the Nanticoke River, rising in Delaware but passing through Sharptown, Maryland, home of many fine 3-masted schooners, down to the Wicomico River, Fishing Bay and Tangier Sound.

Fairburn in his five volumes, Parker in his *Sails of the Maritimes,* even Samuel Eliot Morison in his recently republished *Maritime History of Massachusetts,* mention only New York as contributing to the development of sail on the East Coast below New England, and leave the impression that there was no shipbuilding south of there.

While Howard I. Chapelle, particularly in his *Baltimore Clippers,* Carl C. Cutler in his recent book on packets, and Marion V. Brewington in all his writings have told the story of our Chesapeake honestly, it has remained for Dr. Marvil to give us a log book and yard account book record of men and ships and local shipyards wherein no reference is made to other parts of the water except to mention ships built for sale elsewhere or voyages to "Nowhere is too far"—

As Robert H. Burgess, Curator of Exhibits at the Mariners Museum (and owner of the largest private collection of Chesapeake memorabilia next to our Brewington Collection) says, "This work is a contribution to the maritime history of the Chesapeake Bay . . . a history of the development of a type of 3-masted schooner, the ram . . . built for special purposes."

After reading this book you will let the ram take its place with the Chesapeake pilot vessels—the Baltimore clipper of 1812, the *Ann McKim* of 1831 (first of the cargo clippers), the pungy, bateau or skipjack, sailing log canoe, brogan and bugeye—not to mention our crab skiff—all indigenous to the Chesapeake Bay.

It is a fine record of Bay activity and shipbuilding south of New York, a great credit to its author, and the best book on Maryland sailing since *Men of Marque* by Cranwell and Crane. Oh, if someone would only do the same for the Booz Brothers shipyard here!

Richard H. Randall

*Baltimore, Md.*

*Steam Packets on the Chesapeake.* By Alexander Crosby Brown. Cambridge, Md.: Cornell Maritime Press, Inc., 1961. 192. $6.

Here is a history of steamboating on the Chesapeake Bay!

Starting with James Rumsey's original American steamboat on the Potomac in 1778 and Edward Trippe's *Chesapeake,* the first steamboat on the Bay—1813, the author takes us through the Bay history of the Old Bay Line and its competition. This means practically every steamer serving local ports and paralleling developments along the Atlantic Coast, bringing in even some transatlantic visitors like the *Great Northern.*

Competition was between lines—between cities and between different methods of transportation, and this story is well documented by frequent quotations from periodicals of the times.

Mr. Brown takes us from wooden hulls, through iron, into steel; from paddle wheels, through single screws, to multiple screw vessels; from early Reeder engines to their latest development in 20-miles-

per-hour boats; and from steamers with masts and sails through the gilded masterpieces at the turn of the century to the efficient ship of today.

This book was originally issued in 1940, at the time of the Old Bay Line's centenary. The last three chapters have been added to bring the story up to date, 1961. These last chapters tell of the war experiences of several vessels, but particularly of the *President Warfield* which as *Exodox* in 1947 took 4500 refugees from Sette in the Gulf of Lyon to Palestine and back to Hamburg, Germany, under Zionist sympathizers' efforts.

Everyone interested in the water should delight in this book.

RICHARD H. RANDALL

*Baltimore, Md.*

*Follow The Water.* By VARLEY LANG. Winston-Salem; John F. Blair, Publisher, 1961. 222. $4.50.

Varley Lang, a Johns Hopkins University Ph. D. and ex-teacher, writes in *Follow The Water* of his experiences as a practicing waterman, his chosen profession. Unique as his position is, Lang undoubtedly enjoys his work, and for that reason his book will be appreciated by a raft of Marylanders, many of whom are woefully ignorant of the waterman's way of life.

Dedicated to the watermen of Maryland, the book is broken down into nine chapters: oystering, conservation, crabbing, clamming, fishing, hunting, boats, accidents, and the character of watermen. While Lang doesn't get far away from Talbot, his home base, much of what he has to say applies to the entire Chesapeake tidewater area.

There will be those readers who will take exception to Lang's belief that " the only possible way to increase production of oysters in the Bay is to increase production on natural bars; that is, in those areas which have always been, because of favorable environmental conditions, good producers for a hundred years or more, time out of memory " (p. 61).

There will also be those who agree with Dr. Lang's statement " I am not a hunter myself, and I think I can prove it." (p. 133): his chapter on hunting is the only weak one in the book and one that would have been better left out.

The majority of readers, however, will find *Follow The Water* a delightful experience, for not only does Varley Lang know what he is talking about, he is also refreshingly articulate for a Ph. D.— must be the salt in the water.

C. A. P. H.

*The Winds Will.* By GILBERT BYRON. Easton, Md.; The Easton Publishing Company, Inc., 1961. 165. $3.75.

Gilbert Byron's many admirers will be glad to learn of this collection of poems, most of which appeared in his earlier books: *These Chesapeake Men, Delaware Poems,* and *Chesapeake Cove.* As one of a handful of artists who "celebrate men / men of the Chesapeake—," Byron has much to tell us about our tidewater region. I would commend this collection particularly to newcomers to the area. *The Winds Will* pulses with the spirit of the Eastern Shore.

C. A. P. H.

*Four Years in the Confederate Artillery. The Diary of Private Henry Robinson Berkeley.* Edited by WILLIAM H. RUNGE. (Virginia Historical Society Documents, Vol. II) Chapel Hill; Published for the Virginia Historical Society by The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. xxv, 156. $4.

Diaries of this type are prize finds for historical groups. Private Berkeley's reminiscences add much to an accurate picture of the Confederate in the field. The general impression that the Confederate forces were always ragged and hungry is pretty well dispelled in this diary. For example, after Berkeley was captured at Waynesboro, Virginia on March 2, 1865, he notes, on March 6, "I never knew what it was to be hungry before."

One gets the impression from the diary that the diarist's unit was not really committed to the War until 1864. His descriptions of the fighting in the Shenandoah Valley that year do much to enrich our knowledge of this campaign. While he had only a private's view, his awareness of the overall military picture is outstanding. This may be due somewhat to the fact that Berkeley rewrote the diary sometime after 1890.

The editing by Mr. Runge is first class. To some readers the many notes may seem burdensome. In this book, however, they form an integral part and their omission would detract greatly from its value. This book stands out as a first class work among the flood of third-rate writings and editings presently being published on the Civil War.

ROGER S. COHEN, JR.

*Glen Echo Heights, Md.*

*Index to West Virginiana.* By Robert F. Munn. Charleston: Education Foundation, Inc., 1960. x, 154. $3.

*Guide to the Study of West Virginia History.* By Charles Shetler. Morgantown: West Virginia University Library, 1960. vii, 151. $6.

Both these small volumes are invaluable sourcebooks for the study and writing of West Virginia history. The *Guide* is a general bibliography of literature about the State arranged by counties and topically. The *Index* deals with periodical articles about West Virginia history using the *West Virginia Review* (1923-48) as a backbone. When taken collectively they provide an up-to-date and useful tool for students, teachers and others interested in the sources of West Virginia history.

The publication of these two volumes should cause the reader to inquire about the existence of similar sourcebooks of Maryland history. There exists nothing of the sort, except Eleanor B. Passano's *An Index to the Source Records of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1940). This, however, has long been out of print and deals primarily with genealogical sources. Certainly the appearance of the Munn and Shetler studies should awaken the need for and the interest in the preparation of similar studies in Maryland history. Since nothing comparable now exists, such a compilation would be a most invaluable contribution and would serve as an almost indispensable guide to those most concerned with the study and writing of Maryland history.

Frank F. White, Jr.

*Maryland Hall of Records*

*An Architectural Study of Fort McHenry.* By Lee H. Nelson. National Park Service, Eastern Office, Division of Design and Construction, Philadelphia, January 1961.

Mr. Nelson has prepared a thorough, scholarly, and readable account of the architectural evolution of Fort McHenry. He has clarified structural mutations; he has refined our knowledge of the French military engineers responsible for the pentagonal fort's design. The role of Col. Jean Foncin in producing the final design is for the first time stated with certainty. This French influence puts Fort McHenry in new perspective. And though Mr. Nelson only hints at the fact, the fortifications at Baltimore, along with other American fortifications of the late 18th and early 19th

centuries, can be seen as products of an architectural tradition that dates from early Renaissance times. Spurred by the invention of gunpowder, the French became masters of the science of fortification.

Outstanding in this study are the excellent measured drawings, all of which can be obtained from the Historic American Buildings Survey files in the Library of Congress. A host of contemporary illustrations and maps will also be invaluable to the student of architectural history—who, it should be said, will be most interested in this work.

Definition of the site relationship between the earlier, earthen Fort Whetstone, and its brick-faced, pentagonal successor, Fort McHenry, is a valuable contribution.

As Mr. Nelson indicates, additional structural investigation is needed to complete the picture of the pentagonal fort. When this is accomplished, it will then be possible, and highly desirable, to formally publish the full results of the historical, archaeological and architectural research done over the past several years at Ft. McHenry.

Mr. Nelson's foreword acknowledges help from many sources. This indebtedness well illustrates the concept of the academic team approach which is required in historic sites research. Pooling unrelated disciplines—in this case history, archeology, and architecture—is the only practicable assault possible on the interrelated physical and documentary evidence confronting the modern researcher.

MURRAY H. NELLIGAN

*National Park Service, Philadelphia*

*The Face of Maryland.* By A. AUBREY BODINE. Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, Inc., 1961. Distributed by The Viking Press, Inc., New York. 144. $12.50.

For more than a generation readers of the Baltimore *Sunday Sun Magazine* have admired the superb photography of Aubrey Bodine. With the publication of his *My Maryland* in 1952 and of his *Chesapeake Bay and Tidewater* in 1954, his rare artistry won plaudits from wider audiences. In *The Face of Maryland* his delicate perception, his mastery of camera and darkroom techniques, and his love of his native State again combine to make a book of beauty.

Divided into five sections—Baltimore, the Eastern Shore, Southern

Maryland, Western Maryland and the Civil War—the book contains about 230 pictures, a generous sampling of the State's diverse interest and charm. They range from close-ups that border on portrait studies to sweeping aerials, but each reflects the photographer's sensitive and intelligent approach to his subject.

Baltimore's recent churches, temples, office buildings and hospitals are a part of *The Face of Maryland,* as are its Georgian mansions. Tobacco growing, an early means of livelihood, remains important, but so are two of the State's newest industries, the raising of broilers, and dredging for the mannino, or soft shell clam. Mr. Bodine includes them all. For about 300 years Maryland gentlemen have ridden to hounds, and today the Laurel Racetrack's relatively new International attracts world-wide attention. The photographer's lens records both events.

Such subjects only hint at the wide scope of Mr. Bodine's interest. He is not above pausing to record the "incredible period in the Age of the Automobile—the period of the oversized and overpowered car, and of the tailfin." His picture portrays a cruiser-sized automobile garaged, but with its fantail protruding over the sidewalk through panel-less doors. Noticeably absent from Mr. Bodine's book are portrayals of ruthless multi-laned highways and of intricate interchanges, cloverleafs, and over-and-under-passes. One hopes that he prefers to ignore such subjects.

As was the case with its predecessors, *The Face of Maryland* is a model of book design and production. Harold A. Williams contributes an appreciative foreword, and the photographer sets the mood with comments on some of his favorite pictures. Hervey Brackbill did the captions, and Yardley the humorous picture map that constitutes the endpapers.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

*Md. Historical Society*

# BOOKS RECEIVED

*The South in the New Nation; 1789-1819.* By THOMAS P. ABERNETHY. Baton Rouge; Louisiana State University Press, 1961. xvi, 529. $7.50.

*The Parson of The Islands.* By ADAM WALLACE. Cambridge, Md.; Tidewater Publishers, 1961. (Reprint). 412. $3.95.

*Van Meteren's Virginia 1607-1612.* By JOHN PARKER. Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1961. 102. $5.

*The Indomitable John Scott: Citizen of Long Island 1632-1704.* By LILIAN T. MOWRER. New York; Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1960. xviii, 438. $6.50.

*Joseph Ledlie and William Moody: Early Pittsburgh Residents, Their Background and Some of Their Descendants.* Complied by LEDLIE I. LAUGHLIN. Pittsburgh; The University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961. x, 208, genealogical charts. $10.

*William Shirley: King's Governor of Massachusetts.* By JOHN A. SCHUTZ. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg). vii, 292. $6.

*Canals and American Economic Development.* By CARTER GOODRICH, JULIUS RUBIN, H. JEROME CRANMER, and HARVEY H. SEGAL. Edited by CARTER GOODRICH. New York, Columbia University Press, 1961. vi, 303. $7.50.

*The Negro in the American Revolution.* By BENJAMIN QUARLES. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg). xiii, 231. $6.

*The Anti-Federalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781-1788.* By JACKSON TURNER MAIN. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg). xv, 308. $7.50.

*Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C. 1957-1959.* Edited with an introduction by FRANCIS COLEMAN ROSENBERGER. Washington; The Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., 1961. xi, 305.

*The King's Chevalier: A Biography of Lewis Littlepage.* By Curtis Carroll Davis. New York; The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1961. 442. $7.50.

*The Twilight of Federalism: The Distintegration of The Federalist Party 1815-1830.* By Shaw Livermore, Jr. Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1962. x, 292. $6.

*Architects in America of Catholic Tradition*: By Francis W. Kervick. Rutland, Vt.; Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1962. 140. $10.

*The Secession Conventions of The South.* By Ralph A. Wooster. Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1962. viii, 294. $6.50.

*True Tales of the South at War.* Collected and Edited by Clarence Poe. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. xii, 208. $2.95.

# NOTES AND QUERIES

*1962 House and Garden Pilgrimage, April 28 through May 13–* The 25th annual House and Garden Pilgrimage starts in Southern Maryland. Here one can find the gentler world of yesterday in many of the loveliest gardens and historic houses of the mid-Atlantic area. Spring in Maryland reaffirms Captain John Smith's belief that here on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay "Heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation."

*Schedule for two weeks tour:*

Saturday, April 28: St. Mary's County

Sunday, April 29: Charles County

Wednesday, May 2: Montgomery County

Thursday, May 3: Kingsville, Baltimore County

Friday, May 4: Harford County

Saturday, May 5: Hagerstown

Sunday, May 6: Frederick County

Tuesday, May 8: Meadow Road Walking Tour, Suburban Baltimore

Thursday, May 10: Anne Arundel County

Friday, May 11: Mt. Vernon Place Walking Tour, Baltimore City

This city tour is of the Washington Monument area of Baltimore, a fashionable residential section of the mid-nineteenth century, and one of the culture centers of today. The Maryland Historical Society, founded in 1844 will be the starting point for this Friday tour. Also included are the famed Peabody Library founded by George Peabody, the Walters Art Gallery, and several town houses and converted carriage houses. Luncheon will be served at Christ Church Parish House Between 12 and 2:30 P. M.

Saturday, May 12: Talbot County, Maryland Eastern Shore

Sunday, May 13: Worcester County, Maryland Eastern Shore

*Water Cruises from Baltimore*

| | |
|---|---|
| Saturday, May 19 and Sunday, May 20 | Chester River Cruise and Chestertown |

The Maryland Pilgrimage is sponsored by the Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland, the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, the Maryland Historical Society, the National Society of Colonial Dames of Maryland and the Baltimore Museum of Art. For information, call or write Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage, Room 223, Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore 2, Md. Phone: MU 5-1000.

———————

*Historic Annapolis, Inc.*—In addition to its year-round tours, Historic Annapolis will offer each October a month of unusual Heritage tours and events. In 1962 a special theme will commemorate the great days of sailing ships, with emphasis on the passengers, fashions and cargoes they brought to Annapolis.

———————

*Hughes*—Wanted: names of parents of Vincent Hughes living on Eden St. north of Dulany, Old Town (see James Kennedy, *Directory of Baltimore 1817-1818*). Also the name of his wife in 1825 is desired; also I would like names of parents of George Hush and Elizabeth Connelly, married Old Light St. Church, October 25, 1821.

*Zouck*—I am trying to get data on the Zouck family. The spelling originally was De Zouche or Zouche. Sir John Zouck and his sisters came to this country from England between 1607 and 1620, to Virginia. They returned to England. Henry Zouck, born 1769, died 1843, is buried at St. Paul's Evangalist Lutheran Church at Arcadia, Md., and his descendents are buried there too, including my grandfather. I cannot find any trace of his parents or where they came from. I will appreciate any data regarding the family prior to 1800. The family records are very clear in England from 1600 back to 1300.

J. Franklin Zouck
8114 North 9th Avenue, Phoenix 21, Ariz.

———————

*Hammond*—I would appreciate hearing from any descendants of Mathias Hammond, son of Denton and Sarah Hall (Baldwin) Hammond.

Henry Du Pont Baldwin
5203 Falls Road, Baltimore 10, Md.

———————

*Dalrymple*—To complete family records, information on, and whereabouts of descendants of the Dalrymples of Midlothian, some of whom migrated to Maryland and Virginia in the colonial period, is desired by

LADY MARJORY DALRYMPLE
Oxenfoord Castle
Ford, Midlothian, Scotland

---

*Dennis*—Information is wanted concerning the parentage, birthplace, etc. of William Armstrong Dennis, who married Sarah Rebecca Harman in Baltimore, February 29, 1848.

MRS. C. EVERARD DEEMS
Buckburg Road, Tomkins Cove, N. Y.

---

*Jefferson-Tindall*—Information wanted regarding a manuscript called "One Hundred Years of the Jefferson-Tindall Family" by Warren Jefferson, 184–.

MRS. MAHLON E. ARNETT
959 South San Rafael Ave., Pasadena, Calif.

## CONTRIBUTORS

Alexandra Lee Levin of Baltimore has recently written *The Szolds of Lombard Street: a Baltimore Family,* and she is the author of several historical articles in *American Heritage* and the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

Rev. George B. Scriven is Rector of The Church of the Nativity, Cedarcroft (Baltimore), and former president of the Harford County Historical Society. He has written articles on church and related subjects for a variety of publications including the *Maryland Historical Magazine* and the Baltimore *Sun.* His most recent work is a history of The Church of the Nativity.

Dr. S. W. Jackman is assistant professor of history at Bates College, Maine. He has written *Galloping Head, The Life of Sir Francis Bond Head,* (London, 1958) as well as articles for *Rhode Island History* (1961) and other historical quarterlies. His major field of concentration is the history of England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Dr. Samuel Eliot Morison hardly needs introduction to the subscribers of this magazine. He is among the nation's finest scholars in early American colonial and maritime history, and in the history of United States Naval Operations in World War II.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

**PHOTOGRAPHY** *Since 1878*

Copy and Restoration Work a Specialty.
Black and White or Color.

HUGHES CO.
C. GAITHER SCOTT
213 W. Monument Street
MU 5-7566 BALTIMORE 1

**PHOTOSTATS & PHOTOGRAPHS**

Baltimore Photo & Blue Print Co.
211 E. Baltimore Street
LE 9-6881

★ 35 mm. color or black and white slide duplicates.
Photo copying of Portraits, Old Photographs,
Genealogical Charts, Records, Coats of Arms.

**PLUMBING — HEATING**

M. NELSON BARNES
Established 1909 BE 5-2572 3 West 23rd St.

**BOOKBINDING**

JOSEPH RUZICKA, INC.
Tu. 9—7847 — Tu. 9—5095
3200 Elm Avenue (11)
*Magazines, Books & Records*
*Restoration of rare volumes*

# MARYLAND

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PERIODICAL
RECEIVED
JUL 6 1962
PUBLIC LIBRARY
FORT WAYNE & ALLEN COUNTY

Extraordinary Appearances in The Heavens, and on Earth.
Augs. 2d. 1797.

Watercolor by B. H. Latrobe (p. 173)

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

*June · 1962*

Every head of family wants to assure the future protection of his loved ones. Our TRUST DEPT. will be pleased to discuss this matter with you and your attorney at no cost or obligation.

The ONE bank best
for ALL your needs

1ST NATIONAL
BANK OF BALTIMORE

Member Federal Deposit Ins. Corp.

# IN 1902—

## when we reached the age of 23

A group of civic-minded Baltimoreans gave land in the northern suburbs as a site for the Johns Hopkins University—*Jan. 13.*

The volcano Mt. Pelee in Martinique erupted, destroying the city of St. Pierre and killing an estimated 30,000 people—*May 8.*

A 5-month strike of 145,000 miners in Pennsylvania closed 357 anthracite mines—*May 12.*

Baltimore City established a juvenile court—*June 24.*

---

**Wherever you move . . . whatever you store . . . call Monumental-Security Storage Company, Baltimore agent for Allied, the World's largest, most trusted Van Line.**

**MOVING local or long distance by skilled personnel experienced in handling everything from household furnishings to priceless works of art.**

**PACKING with our exclusive Kleen-Pack method in custom containers protects even your most fragile possessions in storage and during transportation.**

**STORAGE in Baltimore's most modern concrete and steel warehouse, sprinkler equipped to give you the lowest possible insurance rate and the best possible protection.**

*Your Baltimore Agent for Allied Van Lines*

**Monumental-Security STORAGE CO.**

WINDSOR AVENUE AND MONROE STREET
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

LAfayette 3-2141 LAfayette 3-3771

*"Serving Baltimore and the Nation Since 1879"*

ANNOUNCING

* *QUARTERLY*

DIVIDEND!

# 103rd

dividend to savers for the THREE months ending June 30, 1962 has been DECLARED by

# *Fraternity*

## ** FEDERAL

## SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

764 WASHINGTON BOULEVARD,
Baltimore 3, Maryland

*AND*

BRANCH: Normandy Shopping Center,
Baltimore National Pike (Rt. 40)
Ellicott City, Maryland

★ WHY BE SATISFIED WITH DIVIDENDS ONLY TWICE YEARLY?

★ THREE DRIVE-UP WINDOWS—main office

★ CUSTOMER PARKING LOTS—both offices

★ Speedy SAVE BY MAIL (Postage-paid envelopes *FREE*)

FOR ECONOMICAL MORTGAGE LOANS — SEE FRATERNITY FEDERAL FIRST!

★★ INSURED by Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, GOVERNMENT AGENCY

FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK SYSTEM MEMBER FEDERAL SAVINGS AND LOAN INSURANCE CORPORATION SAFETY OF YOUR SAVINGS INSURED UP TO $10,000

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 57, NO. 2 JUNE, 1962

CONTENTS

PAGE

James W. Foster . . . . . *R. W.* 75

Sam Chase, "Disturber" . . . . *Francis F. Beirne* 78

The State in the Maryland Economy, 1776-1807 *Mary Jane Dowd* 90

Meade's Pipe Creek Line . . *Frederic Shriver Klein* 133

John Adams' Correspondence with Hezekiah Niles *L. H. Butterfield* 150

Sidelights . . . . . 155

Three Civil War Letters of James H. Rigby
A Wag's Hard Lot . . . . . *Aubrey C. Land*

Reviews of Recent Books . . . . . 163

Wright, *Fabric of Freedom,* by Jack P. Greene
Winks, *Canada and the United States,* by Robert H. Ferrell
Smith, ed., *Seventeenth Century America,* by Richard Walsh
Davis, *The King's Chevalier,* by Alfred Owen Aldridge
Van Tassel, *Recording America's Past,* by Frank F. White, Jr.
Lee, *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas,* by Richard Walsh
Fatout, ed., *Letters of a Civil War Surgeon,* by Roger S. Cohen, Jr.
Poe, ed., *True Tales of the South at War,* by C. A. P. H.

Notes and Queries . . . . . 173

Contributors . . . . . 175

---

*Annual Subscription to the Magazine, $4.00. Each issue $1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.*

Richard Walsh, *Editor*
C. A. Porter Hopkins, *Asst. Editor*

Published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore 1, Md. Second-class postage paid at Baltimore, Md.

*WANTED*

OLD BOOKS
POST CARDS
LETTERS
NEWSPAPERS

Political Campaign Items
Other Early Paper
Americana

William Sanders
35 Patapsco Road,
Linthicum Heights, Maryland

*New Publication*

**THE HOLLYDAY AND RELATED FAMILIES *of the* EASTERN SHORE OF MARYLAND**

The book throws light on agriculture, commerce, politics, Revolutionary sentiment, Tory and nonjuror attitudes among influential families, development of political leaders, and customs and modes of living.

*by*

**James Bordley, Jr., M.D.**

350 pp. $10 plus 20¢ postage.
Md. sales tax additional.

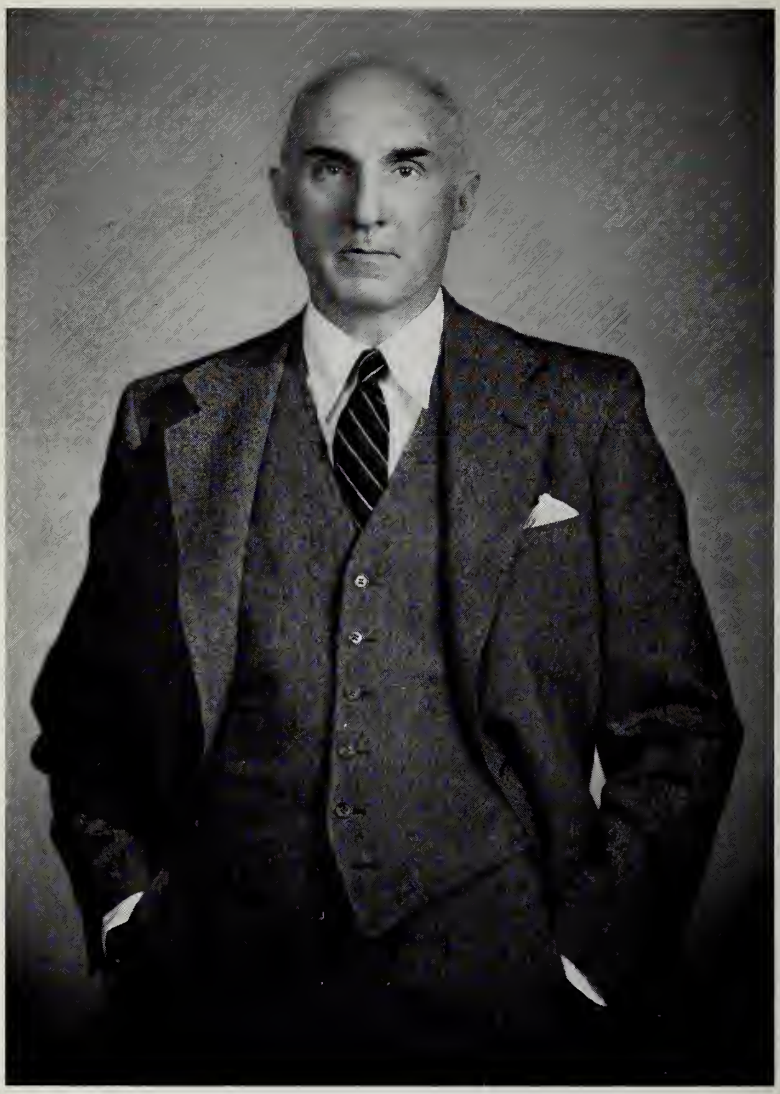
## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

**PHOTOGRAPHY** *Since 1878*
Copy and Restoration Work a Specialty.
Black and White or Color.
HUGHES CO.
C. GAITHER SCOTT
213 W. Monument Street
MU 5-7566 BALTIMORE 1

**PHOTOSTATS & PHOTOGRAPHS**
Baltimore Photo & Blue Print Co.
211 E. Baltimore Street
LE 9-6881
★ 35 mm. color or black and white slide duplicates.
Photo copying of Portraits, Old Photographs,
Genealogical Charts, Records, Coats of Arms.

**PLUMBING — HEATING**
M. NELSON BARNES
Established 1909 BE 5-2572 3 West 23rd St.

**BOOKBINDING**
JOSEPH RUZICKA, INC.
Tu. 9—7847 — Tu. 9—5095
3200 Elm Avenue (11)
*Magazines, Books & Records*
*Restoration of rare volumes*



JAMES W. FOSTER
(1890–1962)

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

Volume 57 JUNE, 1962 Number 2

## JAMES W. FOSTER

The *Magazine* most deeply regrets to announce the sudden death of Mr. James W. Foster, Director of the Maryland Historical Society, on April 30, 1962.

James W. Foster's career was one of unstinting and devoted service to his community and fellow scholars. Born in Virginia in 1890, he attended Episcopal High School of Alexandria and matriculated at the University of Virginia from which he received the Master of Arts degree. He came to Baltimore in 1913 and worked as a reporter on the Baltimore *News*. World War I interrupted this journalistic venture and he enlisted in the 58th Coast Artillery and served in France as a company commander. At the end of the war returning to Baltimore his adopted city, he worked for a time in the circulation department of the newspaper and then left to engage in the brokerage business. But he joined the staff of the

Enoch Pratt Free Library in 1931, and there followed his first love, history, writing several articles and lecturing chiefly on Maryland's past.

It was his work as associate head of the library's Maryland Room, whose special collection he had helped to organize, that brought him to the attention of the officers of the Maryland Historical Society. After having taken on the editorship of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* in 1938, he was offered the directorship of the Society in 1942, and at the urging of its President, the then United States Senator, George L. Radcliffe, he accepted the position.

Laboring with skill and untiring energy and zeal, and acting in harmony with the membership and President Radcliffe, the new director embarked on a program of expansion that was to place the Society among the foremost historical organizations in the country. He dearly loved young people and carried on an extensive and unique lecture series for elementary school children, giving to them an unforgettable awareness of their local and national history. Lectures for adults captured the imagination alike of members and non-members of the Society. He never lost sight of the duty to scholarship. The printed collection of books and pamphlets was constantly augmented, and he catalogued and arranged many of the growing number of priceless manuscripts in the Library's holdings. One of the recent tasks which greatly pleased him was the planning of a new extension to the library in which a modern manuscripts division largely figured. He was also interested in the museum aspects of the Society, for he realized that material things lead to ideas.

James W. Foster, as the Society reflected his philosophy of living history, was a good social historian. His editorship of the *Magazine* evidences this best. Under his hand, the *Magazine* was unburdened of the unassimilated, merely printed documents and political essays which had borne witness to the crusty scientific school of history. Under his editorship, the *Magazine* revealed the New Historical approach by describing the life of a people which gives ample and special meaning to the history of a democratic society. The *Magazine* became bet-

ter balanced and more attractive and contributed far more widely to the field.[1]

As a writer, his major field of concentration was the early American period on which he had done several informative pieces. His book on Fielding Lucas pointed up a much neglected area of study, that of early American printing.[2] But Mr. Foster's *magnum opus* was to be a biography of George Calvert. This subject had been the product of more than twenty years of research both here and abroad. It was his stated intention upon the announcement of his coming retirement to complete it, as he was close to the writing stages of the book. His recent article: "The Boyhood of George Calvert"[3] foretold an excellent study handled with good style and painstaking care.

The scholarly world and members of the Society will mourn the passing of a fine scholar, a devoted and cheerful aider and promoter of scholarship, and a gentleman in James W. Foster.

R. W.

[1] *Md. Hist. Mag.*, 1938-1949, XXXIII-XLIV.
[2] *Fielding Lucas, Jr., Early 19th Century Publisher.*
[3] *Md. Hist. Mag, LV* (Dec. 1960), 261-274.

# SAM CHASE, "DISTURBER"

By Francis F. Beirne

"A BUSY restless Incendiary—a Ringleader of Mobs—a foul mouth'd and inflaming Son of Discord and Passion—a common Disturber of the public Tranquility."

This denunciation, directed at Samuel Chase, appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* of June 19, 1766, in an article bearing the signatures of the mayor and aldermen of the city of Annapolis. It was a by-product of the heated controversy over the Stamp Act which served as prologue to the struggle for American independence, and it was provoked by charges preferred against the city fathers in the same journal several months before.

Under the charter [1] granted Annapolis by Queen Anne the little metropolis on the Severn River was given the status of a city; the mayor and aldermen sat periodically as the Mayor's Court, a tribunal which concerned itself primarily with the enforcement of the city ordinances and the petty disputes between citizens. Theirs was a somewhat thankless task whose reward rested chiefly in the prestige attaching to their respective offices.

The dispute between the mayor and aldermen on the one hand and Chase on the other began on March 13 when the *Gazette* published a remonstrance which, acording to its heading, was "intended to be presented by the Grand Jurors of this City to the Mayor's Court, but was prevented by their adjournment." It was signed by Colin Campbell, foreman, and twelve other jurors.

The remonstrance complained of the severity of the city's by-laws and the frequent abuse of the charter. In particular it attacked the law prohibiting the sale of rum to freemen "not being reputable House-keepers" as a restriction on the liberty of the subject, and the law laying taxes on dogs. It charged that large sums of money raised by lotteries for the

[1] Elihu S. Riley, *The Ancient City* (Annapolis, 1887), p. 87.

benefit of the city and the sums accruing from fines and forfeitures had been misapplied. It accused some of the aldermen and common councilmen of neglecting their attendance at the meetings of the corporation. It noted that Benjamin Tasker, alderman, had signified a desire to retire, had not been attending meetings and should be replaced. It stated that Nicholas Maccubin, common councilman, had declared he would never perform his duties; and that the office of recorder, next in importance to that of mayor, had been vacant for some months. It asserted that the Mayor's Court should meet four times a year but actually met only once a year, and that some offenders were brought immediately to trial " while others were indulged what Time they are pleased to require; so that by Neglect of your Worships in not Sitting regularly, many Offenders escape unpunished by the Death or Removal of Evidences." Finally it reported that the city dock was filling up with filth, streets and public landings were encroached and built upon, and Market Street was entirely stopped up.

To this bold indictment the mayor and aldermen lost no time replying. In the very next issue of the *Gazette* [2] they presented a statement asserting that the remonstrance was not legal since it had been drawn up and signed after the grand jury had been adjourned; therefore it was the " Act of private Men, usurping the Character and Authority of Grand Jurors." It denied the charges made in the remonstrance and demanded that those having to do with misappropriation of the lottery and tax money be made more specific. It drew attention to public works to which these funds, allegedly misapplied, had been devoted. It contended that there was not the least foundation for the assertion that the charter called for a meeting of the court four times a year and that the charges of partiality in scheduling cases was " totally void of Truth." It defied the world " to produce a single Instance of it, which is all we can say, ' till something more weighty than the bare Allegations of Men, who appear blindfoldly to have adopted whatever was dictated to them, and to have given the Sanction of their Names to many Falsehoods and Misrepresentations, may call upon us for a further Vindication of our Innocence." They

[2] *Maryland Gazette,* March 20, 1766.

concluded by saying they were "convinc'd that the Persons who compos'd the late Grand Jury were misled by the Influence of an ill Adviser." The reply was signed by Walter Dulany, mayor, and George Steuart, John Brice, Upton Scott and Michael Macnemara, aldermen. No one alive to the seething political conflict in Annapolis and the personalities involved could have doubted that the "ill Adviser" alluded to by the mayor and aldermen was Samuel Chase.

Chase was a relatively new arrival on the local scene. He was the only child of the Rev. Thomas Chase, an Anglican clergyman, and Matilda Walker, daughter of a prominent planter of Somerset county on the Eastern Shore.[3] Following the death of his mother, Samuel at the age of three years accompanied his father to Baltimore where the elder Chase was installed as rector of St. Paul's Church. Thomas Chase was an accomplished classical scholar and from him the son received a solid educational grounding which was to stand him in good stead in the long public career that lay ahead.[4] In those day Annapolis was still the leading city in the Maryland colony. The seat of the provincial government and of several courts, it was the natural objective of any ambitious young man setting out upon the profession of law. So at the age of 18 years Samuel left Baltimore and took up residence in Annapolis to begin his studies in the office of the Messrs. John Hammond and John Hall, leading practitioners of the province.[5] His brilliancy and industry combined to speed his progress; at age 20 he was admitted to practice in the Mayor's Court and two years later he was a member of the bar pleading cases in Chancery and other high courts.

A young man of his abounding energy and fiery temperament could not resist the impelling urge to enter politics. The lists at that time were drawn between the Court party, dominated by men of high office bestowed upon them by the Lord Proprietary of the colony and consequently owing allegiance

[3] Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore,* (Richmond, Va., 1935), p. 514.

[4] The Rev. Ethan Allen, *Historical Sketches of St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1855), p. 106.

[5] B. J. Lossing, *Signers of the Declaration of Independence* (New York, 1848), p. 146.

to him; and the Country party, composed of the advocates of self-government who were growing more and more restive under what they considered the unjust and unconstitutional course of Parliament in passing laws taxing the colonies without their consent. Of these laws the most recent and most resented was the Stamp Act. Chase threw in his lot with the country party. A tall, heavy set and ungainly figure with a gift for invective that in the heat of debate knew no restraint he was designed by nature for the role of popular leader. In the public agitation that attended the announcement of the act and the appointment of a stamp distributor he was one of the most conspicuous protestants. By way of further defining his position in the struggle Chase in the 1764 election won a seat in the Lower House of the Assembly as a delegate for Annapolis, defeating Dr. Steuart of the Court party.[6]

The signers of the reply to the remonstrance of the Grand Jury were without exception members of that party. Mayor Walter Dulany,[7] son of Councillor Daniel Dulany, had since 1745 loyally defended the Proprietary as a member of the Lower House where the popular Country party held the balance of power. His father, Daniel Dulany the first, had prospered under the patronage of the Calverts and in his old age shared a good part of his wealth with his two sons Daniel and Walter. Daniel the second was trained for the law, Walter as a merchant. The latter was serving his year as mayor, an office that was passed around annually among the leaders of the predominant party. Now 42 years old he was destined in the eight years of life that remained to him to be elevated to the Council and to the important and lucrative post of Commissary General.

George Steuart,[8] a distant relation of the Calverts, had come from Scotland to enjoy a comfortable livelihood derived from fees as Judge of the Land Office, Commissioner of Paper Currency and Riding Surveyor of Pocomoke. Dr. Upton Scott,[9]

[6] *Maryland Gazette,* Nov. 29, 1764, Records of the Corporation of the City of Annapolis, 1757-1765 p. 242 M.H.S.

[7] Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulany's of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1955), *Passim;* Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage,* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 132, 160.

[8] *Ibid.,* pp. 165, 169, 184.

[9] *Ibid.,* pp. 136, 176.

intimate friend and former companion in arms of Governor Horatio Sharpe and another trusted supporter of the Proprietary, was Examiner General and Clerk of the Council. Michael Macnemara,[10] educated in England at the Inns of Court, was the son of a notorious character, Thomas Macnemara, whose sordid career seems to have been no handicap to Michael. Having held various public offices Michael at this time was clerk of the Lower House of the Assembly.

What gave the Grand Jury's remonstrance an especially piquant flavor was that its alleged author Chase held the office of prosecutor of the Mayor's Court,[11] so that during its sessions he was in daily contact with its members. He was the more objectionable because of his victory over Doctor Steuart in the recent election in spite of all the threats of revenge made by the Court party against those Annapolitans who dared vote for him.

Though the mayor and aldermen in their reply had not mentioned him by name Chase took for granted that he was the "ill Adviser" accused. In the *Gazette* of March 27 appeared a letter to the editor over his signature in which he said: "I have perused your last Gazette, and conclude, by the answer of the Mayor and Aldermen to the Remonstrance of the late Grand Jury for this city, that I have incurred the weighty Displeasure and Resentment of those Gentlemen." He confessed it was true that at the request of the grand jury during the sitting of the court he had drawn up the greater part of the remonstrance from heads given him by them. As to the "indecent and abusive language" of the mayor and aldermen "I value it not." He said he had been assured by members of the grand jury that they intended a reply in a very short time, when the public might form their judgment as to who was right and who wrong with respect to the charges made in the remonstrance. There for a while the matter rested.

April, 1766 was a lively month in Maryland. There, as in other colonies, the more militant protestants against the Stamp

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[11] Records of the Corporation, Annapolis, 1757-1761, p. 173. Chase was elected prosecutor, October 27, 1761, at the same meeting of the mayor's court at which he, William Paca and John Brice, Jr., were admitted to practice before the court.

Act were organizing as a society under the name Sons of Liberty. Since the colonists refused to use the stamped paper required by the act on legal documents and the officers of the Crown refused to do business without it the courts and other public offices ceased to function. On April 1, Sons throughout the province met in Annapolis, presented a petition to the justices of the provincial court to conduct their business without stamps and wrung from them a promise to do so. Chase enlisted in the organization and was foremost in its proceedings. The petition however was not needed—four days after it was presented Annapolis received the welcome news that Parliament had repealed the act two months before. The Annapolitans gave themselves up to general rejoicing, " the Afternoon was spent in Mirth; and all Loyal and Patriotic Toasts were Drank." [12]

In view of these distractions it was not until the *Gazette's* issue of May 1 that the grand jurors got around to publishing their reply. In their preamble they remarked that " the Mayor and Aldermen acting legally and constitutionally in their Public Characters, are doubtless entitled to the Respect and Deference of every Citizen, but when prostituting the Dignity of their Political Stations, they descend to the infamous Task of Personal Defamation and Abuse, so far from having a Right to Respect, Deference or Superiority, they fall into Contempt, and dwindle into Insignificancy." The answer which had an unmistakable Chase ring then proceeded to repeat in greater detail the charges previously made. It was signed by eight of the original thirteen jurymen.

There followed another interval in the controversy during which the " Worshipful Mayor " appointed June 11 as a day of rejoicing and festivity on account of the glorious news of the repeal of the Stamp Act, and in the evening the city was beautifully illuminated.[13] Court party and Country party buried their differences and appeared in hearty agreement over the outcome though a few months later the ardor of the former had cooled to the extent that the Council, or Upper House of the Assembly, refused to approve a proposal of the

[12] *Maryland Gazette*, April 10, 1766.
[13] *Ibid.*, June 12, 1766.

Lower House to erect a statue of William Pitt in Annapolis and hang a portrait of Lord Camden in the provincial court in recognition of their part in bringing about repeal.[14]

It was not until June 19 that the Gazette carried "Some Observations on a Paper Called 'The Remonstrance of the Grand Jury of This City'" which contained "many Aspersions against us of too malignant a Nature to pass entirely unnoticed." The celebration for the repeal of the Stamp Act was not alone responsible for the delay in the reply; its preparation must have been a time consuming labor. It ran to some 13½ columns, repeated the charges made by the grand jurors and answered them one by one. The Observations again were signed by Mayor Dulany and Aldermen Steuart, Brice, Scott and Macnemara. They were pleased they said to note that in the reply of the grand jurors the number of their accusers had dropped from thirteen to eight.

In their summation the "Observers" stated that they now laid before the reader full information on the real merits of the dispute and must submit to his unbiased judgment whether they had not "in every essential Article, defended ourselves against the Attacks of these licentious Men." Returning to their former charge they resorted to sarcasm: "that they (the grand jurors) have been misled by an Ill Advisor, we will not presume to insinuate, since a suggestion of the like kind with Regard to the Remonstrance has exposed us to the heavy penalty of the Disdain and Contempt of those high-minded Worthies."

They continued: "Before we take Leave of the Reader, we must observe, that the most mortifying Incident which has happened to this whole Controversy, is, that we have fallen under the Displeasure, and incurred the Contempt, of a most respectable Member of Society, by intimating in our Answer, that the late Remonstrants were misled by the Influence of an Ill Adviser, in publishing so many severe Reflections upon our Conduct. How could that worthy Personage entertain so humble an Opinion of the Respect and Veneration due his Character, as to surmise that he cou'd possibly be the Gentleman aim'd at?" Here followed the passage delineating the ill ad-

[14] *Arch. Md.*, LXI, pp. 127-8, 209-10.

viser as an incendiary, leader of mobs, son of discord and disturber of the public tranquility.

"—but," asked the Observers, "cou'd all this, or any Part of it, be applicable to a Gentleman of his meek and peaceable Spirit, a Gentleman so eminent for his Zeal in promoting Order and Decorum, so active in preventing Confusion, and suppressing the lawless Excesses of the Populace?"

Then the Observers alluded to Chase's intimate relationship with them in the court: "Among all the Virtues which adorn his Character, does not Gratitude shine forth with conspicuous lustre? . . . How then cou'd we imagine, that he, of all Men in the World, would insiduously join in a Confederacy to asperse a Set of Men to whose Appointment he was for some Years indebted for his best Bread and that, like the Viper, he would sting the Bosoms which had warm'd him into Life? How cou'd we suppose, that a Gentleman, who in every Instance of conduct, sustains a Propriety of character, shou'd, as Prosecutor to the Court, most unjustly and ungratefully vilify the very Men whose Authority and Dignity it was peculiarly his Office to support?"

The most patient and peace loving man might justifiably have been stirred to action by this personal attack, and Chase was neither. Rejoicing in controversy he rushed forward to pick up the gauntlet flung down before him by the mayor and aldermen. In the next issue of the *Gazette* [15] in a letter to its editor Jonas Green he stated that his attendance at the county court forbade an immediate answer and asked the public to be patient. Meanwhile Chase, in between court duties, was assembling ammunition for his counter-offensive. But he found an unexpected obstacle to his plans in Jonas Green. In another letter to the Gazette [16] he asked the editor to "be pleased to inform your readers, that I waited upon you with my Defense, and that you refused to give it a place in your Gazette tho' I offered to indemnify you, for the following Reasons, which you assigned to me for such your Refusal viz: "That there were so many Personal Reflections in it, as you were sure would subject you to Prosecution, and the Dislike

[15] *Maryland Gazette*, June 26, 1766.
[16] *Ibid.*, July 17, 1766.

of many of your Friends. Let the Public know that I expect to have my Defense shortly in Hand Bills and that it is now ready for Perusal of any Gentleman who is the least Doubtful as to the Falsity of the charges against me."

Green to be sure had been placed in an embarrassing position. In addition to the possible danger of libel he labored under the restraint of being a good friend of Dulany and his group. Already he was senior member of the Common Council and at the next election was to be elevated to the rank of alderman. Yet not having blue-pencilled the observations and permitted its authors to express their unbridled opinion of Chase he laid himself open to a charge of partiality in turning down Chase's defense.

Green's refusal to publish, however, had no effect on the issue, for, as he had promised, Chase prepared and had printed a handbill for distribution throughout the community. It was dated July 18 and must have achieved even more publicity than if it had been confined to the subscribers to the *Gazette*.[17]

In an explanatory statement printed on the margin of the paper Chase again referred to Green's refusal to publish the defense in the *Gazette* although its columns had been open to his enemies " to reflect both upon my private and public Life in the most cruel and severest Manner " which " has reduced me to the Necessity of taking this step of clearing myself to the World."

Addressing himself directly to Messrs. Dulany, Macnemara, Steuart, Brice and Scott by name he asked them to permit him to expostulate with them " upon the Ground of your infamous Aspersions, and I promise to do it with all the Temper and Coolness, that you have a Right to expect from a Man, whom you have wantonly injured, vilified and traduced."

He asked: " If you had any Foundation in truth . . . Why did you not particularize the Mobs, I have led, or singled out an Instance in which I have played the Villain in spreading Discord and Faction and Distorting the publick Tranquility? . . . I admit . . . that I was one of them, who committed to the Flames in Effigy, the Stamp-Distributor of the Province, and who openly disputed the Parliamentary Right to

[17] A copy of the handbill is attached to the *Gazette* of June 25, 1767, M.H.S.

Tax the Colonies—While you—to do you justice—Skulked in your Houses some of you asserting the Parliamentary Right, and esteeming the Stamp Act a beneficial Law.—Others of you meanly grumbling in your Corners, and not daring to speak out your Sentiments. I admit further, that when the Sons of Liberty met here from different Counties of the Province, I heartly concurred in the Measures then adopted to open the public offices . . .

" Whatever ridiculous Vanity may whisper in your Ears, or that Pride and Arrogance suggest, which is natural to despicable Pimps, and Tools of Power, emerged from Obscurity and basking in the proprietary Sunshine, in spite of such Vanity and Pride, you must confess them to be your Superiors, Men of Reputation and Merit who are mentioned with Respect, while you are named with Contempt, pointed and hissed as Wretches,

—Fruges consumere nati
born but to eat, and—stink "

The quotation from Horace [18] bears witness to Chase's indebtedness to his father's early instruction; the appended epithet however was pure " Chase." It is noteworthy that while frankly admitting his part in the mob which burned the stamp distributor in effigy, Chase did not mention having participated in the burning of the distributor's office which occurred the following day. Whatever his enemies might say there was a limit to his operations that fell well within the law.

It must have been with relish that Chase identified the mobs as " the People of this City, who opposed you my good friend, Mr. Walter Dulany, and you my generous Benefactor Doctor George Steuart, at your respective elections for this city." Addressing his adversary as " Honest Steuart " and explaining it as " the honorable Epithet given Dr. Steuart by the late C. Calvert, for the Services done the Lord Proprietary by him, while a Representative of this City," he said: " I am far from wondering that your Malice . . . has been kept alive to this day—Envy is a restless Hag."

Centering his attention on Steuart he continued: " You had Nothing to recommend you but proprietary Influence, Court

[18] *2nd Epistle,* Lines 27-31.

Favour and the Wealth and Interest of the Tools and Sycophants who infest this City . . . Swell up your Catalogue to Volume, I can still boast more . . . the single Service I did my Country, in polling against, and defeating you in your Election, will weight down every publick Benefit you have done, even counting, if you will, from the first Moment you crawled here, and cleansed yourself of your filthy Rags up to your present elevated Sphere of 'One of his Lordships Judges of the Land Office.'"

Chase acted with restraint in his treatment of Mayor Dulany. No doubt he stood in some awe of this member of the wealthiest and most influential family in the community. He confined himself to charging that Dulany was personally prejudiced against him because as a member of the Lower House he had voted with those who held that Dulany's re-election to that body was void and so deprived him of the seat he had held for twenty years. Brice he dismissed with the charge of having a passion for wealth.

Chase's most deadly venom was reserved for Scott and Macnemara. The former he described as "a pennyless Emigrant driven from Home by Poverty to seek for Subsistence abroad . . . in your most joyous Moments — when counting up the exorbitant Profits of your Offices, of Clerk of the Upper-House of Assembly, of his Lordship's Council and Examiner General of the Province—do you not feel a poignant compunction for the Prostitution of your Freedom for dirty Gold?" To Macnemara he attributed. "The consequences of a bad life which have reduced you to a servile Dependency . . . It is with Pain, I remind you of the unhappy Circumstances of your Children, reduced to Beggary, by your continued round of Vice and Folly, Drunkeness and Debauchery." Even assuming there was a basis for these charges Chase did himself little credit in indulging in such personal abuse.

A reply to the accusation of ingratitude Chase reserved for the last. He admitted he was indebted to Dulany and his group for his appointment as prosecutor in the Mayor's Court. But at that time he said the local bar consisted of three practitioners,[19] all students of law who sought experience and had

[19] *Supra.*

not the remotest view to profit. He was appointed he said because the other two declined the offer. He maintained that during the five years he had held the office the money he received for his services fell short of £40. He concluded: " You know very well . . . that my practice in the Courts—not your contemptible Mayor's Court—furnishes Me with such genteel and independent Living, that without fear of bread, or uneasy Apprehension, I can treat with contempt the Fat Pimp, and give him sneer for sneer." Just who was the target for this last insult is not clear. A note in writing on one of the handbills that has been preserved states that " This was not printed by J. Green." The editor of the *Gazette* evidently was to have no part in Chase's reply even indirectly.

With the publication of the handbill the controversy ended. That the remonstrance of the grand jurors had some effect is indicated by the resignation of Alderman Tasker and Councilman Macubbin and the election of a recorder. To cap the climax in the poll of October, 1766, Chase was elected to the Common Council.[20] Another important result was that it revealed the violent and intemperate language of which Chase was capable when under attack. From then on adversaries knew what they might expect when they challenged him—some confessed that they refrained rather than face the invective that flowed from his pen and his tongue when he was aroused. This characteristic no doubt enhanced his reputation as a forceful leader but did not endear him to those who felt the whiplash sting and branded him as a bully. Eventually it was to earn him the doubtful distinction of being the only justice of the Supreme Court of the United States ever to face impeachment.

[20] Records of the Corporation, Annapolis, 1765-1770 pp. 167-8, 170, 173.

# THE STATE IN THE MARYLAND ECONOMY, 1776–1807

By Mary Jane Dowd

THE American Revolution, it has been said, signals the end of mercantilism with its myriad local and imperial regulations of trade and commerce. Supposedly it ushered in a new era of economic freeedom – laissez faire, if you will, when the merchant, the mechanic, and the farmer were to be allowed by government to operate freely after their best interests. The notion now was held, in line with the thinking of Adam Smith, Quesnay and the physiocrats, that an economy must be unhindered by government in order freely to operate under natural laws.

The confederation period, particularly with the advent of the depression of 1785, seemed to indicate that just the opposite was true. Government aid was advocated and sought for many enterprises, and states actively meddled with the economy by issuing paper money, raising imposts, granting loans, and founding and regulating companies by issuing charters. Thus historians have shown that there was much governmental interest in the economy in the years after the Peace of Paris. What was the case in Maryland? Did the Free State adopt a policy of laissez faire or did it seek to encourage business, or perhaps did it continue the regulatory practices of its past as a colony?

The following study will seek to answer these questions and thereby to describe the state's relationships to business in the confederation through the Jeffersonian periods.

## 1

### Public Opinion and Manufacturing

As the Revolutionary War drew to a successful close, Marylanders began to express themselves in the public prints [1] on

[1] This section was compiled chiefly from articles in the following Maryland newspapers: the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis, 1777-1807), the *Maryland Ga-*

the subject of what could be done to encourage progress and growth in agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce; wisely, little appeal was made on the basis of sectional interests. Rather they tried to show the benefits of such encouragements as they proposed to the whole state and even the ultimate benefit to the Union. Since agriculture and shipping were well established in Maryland, publicists considered programs for their aid and encouragement less often in newspapers. Much of their effort in this direction was to try to convince Maryland farmers to lessen their dependence on tobacco and grains as money crops by planting crops not previously grown in the state and to advocate the growth of agricultural products which could serve as raw materials for Maryland manfacturing.

Of much more prominence in the newspapers of this period than aid to agricultural or commerce was the topic of encouragement to manufacturing in the United States and especially in Maryland. John Hayes, the editor of the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette,* who by the number of articles and editorials he wrote on the subject proclaimed himself a true friend of manufacturing, saw that ". . . our real independence must consist in the exertions of ingenuity and labour in the establishment of American manufactures." [2] Encouraging the growth of new products and establishing new industries, it was thought, would add wealth to the state and bring skilled immigrants into the state, thus increasing its population and, therefore, its strength.[3] The Chesapeake Bay accorded Mary-

*zette; or the Baltimore Advertiser* (1783-1792), *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* (1792-1794), *Federal Intelligencer and Baltimore Daily Gazette* (1795). There were few editorials in newspapers at this time, but this deficiency is somewhat alleviated by the numerous essays on popular questions by the papers' readers. Newspapers from other sections of the state were unavailable for various reasons. There were several Easton papers but none established until late in the period under consideration, and only scattered issues are now in existence. Frederick had quite a few newspapers, several in German, and the rest with only scattered issues known. Cumberland had no newspapers until 1808. However Baltimore, where interest in commerce and manufacturing was most intense, had many newspapers although some were short-lived.

[2] *Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore General Advertiser,* Apr. 17, 1787, p. 3. (editorial). Hereafter cited as B. *Md. Gaz.*

[3] *Ibid.,* Sept. 26, 1786, "Citizen of Maryland"; John Frederick Amelung, *Remarks on Manufactures, Principally on the New Established Glass House near Frederick-town in the State of Maryland* (n. p., 1787) p. 7; *Maryland Gazette,* (Annapolis), Nov. 20, 1794, "By-Stander," pp. 2-3. Hereafter cited as A. *Md. Gaz.*

land easy disposition of its surplus products, and the two extensive rivers at the northern and southern extremities of Maryland promised control of the trade of neighboring states and the Western territory.[4]

Some wanted manufacturing in America as a means of bringing an end to importation of foreign goods. An argument especially prevalent in the depression-ridden mid-1780's was that lack of manufacturing in the United States hastened the country's "ruin."[5] Another newspaper writer proposed a complete system to establish American prosperity in the 'eighties:

I conceive it to be the policy of every nation, to encourage their own manufactory as much as possible and lay very heavy duties, or totally prohibit all foreign produce.—By this means, our young empire would increase rapidly in improvements, and our public debt to be paid principally by strangers.[6]

Imports had not only beggared the United States financially, so the argument went, but had made Americans, particularly women, "too fond of dress," and not fond enough of other employment." Others wanted importation checked by home manufacturing so that, "useless men [merchants and importers] would be obliged to turn to some more useful employ"[7] and specie would remain in the country.

It was the duty of every citizen of the state, according to "A Merchant of Maryland," to promote the state's "opulence and aggrandisement," which included establishing useful manufactures. To others it was the state's duty to add to its own wealth and power by promoting manufacturing:

While our sister state Pennsylvania is laying out her hundred thousands, and is almost road and canal mad, and Virginia is led off by building bubbles around bubbles; let Maryland be not altogether inattentive to her interest, but improving, in a more substantial way, by attending to her manufactories, by which she may, add to her citizens ten, *I had almost said* twenty fold, and the

[4] *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1792, "A Friend to Agriculture and Manufactures," p. 2.
[5] *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Aug. 15 ,1786, "To the Tradesmen and Manufacturers of Baltimore." Hereafter cited as *Md. J.*
[6] B. *Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 20, 1784, p. 2, "A Plain Dealer."
[7] *Md. J.* Feb. 28, 1794 "Queries"; B. *Md. Gaz.*, Sept. 26, 1786.

wealth of a state is better known by the number of its inhabitants than any other criterion.[8]

Here one can see the motive of interstate rivalry which was often a very strong inducement to action.

Many, such as John Hayes of the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette,* were anxious to see manufacturing established in the state. He wrote he was always pleased to report to his readers on the progress of manufacturing in the United States because such accounts "wear off the diffidence of our citizens, stimulate them to improve . . . the manufactures already established, [and] to attempt others."[9] "A Friend to Agriculture and Manufactures," who wrote a series of detailed articles on Maryland's possibilities in 1792, said his purpose was to awaken Marylanders.[10] Others wished to excite Marylanders to action in this area by reciting the accomplishments of the northern states, or by citing the "example of older and more experienced nation:" the "indefatigable industry and attention" of the English and French "to the improvement of their Trade, Manufactures, and Commerce . . .".[11]

Not all Marylanders were interested in promoting manufacturing. In the 1780's antagonism among the "three great classes" which composed Maryland society[12] was quite evident in the electioneering articles which appeared at each election of the House of Delegates. "An Enthusiast in Trade" thought it was "a great misfortune" that the landholder, planter, and farmer usually did not "thoroughly . . . investigate the prinples of trade."[13] He implied that this lack of knowledge led to stagnation of the economy and misunderstanding among farmers, merchants, and manufactures. Writers combatting the primacy of agriculture arguments of the agrarians noted that there was a close connection between the prosperity of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture: "as they [manufactures]

[8] *Ibid.,* Nov. 28, 1783, p. 2; A. *Md. Gaz.,* Dec. 6, 1792, "A Friend to Agriculture and Manufactures."
[9] *Ibid.,* July 13, 1790, p. 3, "American Manufactures" [editorial].
[10] A. *Md. Gaz.,* Dec. 6, 1792, p. 2.
[11] B. *Md. Gaz.,* Jan. 9, 1787, p. 3, "An Enthusiast in Trade."
[12] "The cultivators of the earth, the merchants and tradesmen," *ibid.,* Aug. 15, 1786, p. 3, "A Real Friend to Maryland."
[13] *Ibid.,* Jan. 9, 1787, p. 3.

flourish lands rise, as they decay lands fall" and, therefore, it was to a landholder's own interest to promote manufacturing.[14]

When newspaper essayists described specifically what should be attempted and what should not be manufactured, most usually advised that Maryland should manufacture from its own natural resources and agricultural products, instead of exporting them in an unfinished state and buying back finished products at a higher price.[15] Specific raw materials that Marylanders could turn into manufactured articles (some right in their own homes) were wine from Maryland grapes, linen from local flax,[16] silk cloth from raw silk,[17] and duck and cordage from hemp.[18] It was thought, by some writers, that with special care cotton could be grown in most parts of Maryland.[19] Machinery for making cotton and wool cloth could then be set up in Maryland without much expense — in comparison with its great utility — using water for power instead of the coal the English wool and cotton manufacturers used.[20]

"A Friend to Agriculture and Manufactures" wrote of progress in utilizing Maryland's great iron resources and abundant energy (water power and wood) to convert the raw ore into pig and bar iron. But, he wrote, as of 1792 there was only one factory in the state manufacturing machines or tools for farming and shipbuilding. Most of the ore extracted was exported to New England for manufacture, and Marylanders had to buy back castings, farm tools, and bolts at higher prices.[21]

"A Merchant of Maryland" cautioned the General Assembly that "Manufactures of fine and highly polished goods would at this time be a vain attempt; the great price of labour, the scarcity of workmen, and the spirit of freedom which prevails, defeat every endeavor to success."[22] Simple manufac-

[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.*, A. *Md. Gaz.* Nov. 22. 1792, p. 2.
[16] B. *Md. Gaz.*, Jan. 9, 1787, p. 3, "An Enthusiast in Trade."
[17] A. *Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 29, 1792, "A Friend to Agriculture and Manufactures."
[18] *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1792, p. 2.
[19] *Md. J.*, Apr. 21, 1794; A. *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 4, 1802, "Highly Important to American Farming and Planting"; *ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1792, "A Friend to Agriculture and Manufactures."
[20] *Ibid.*, Dec. 6, 1792, p. 2.
[21] *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1792, p. 2; B. *Md. Gaz.*, Jan. 9, 1787, "An Enthusiast in Trade," mentions abundance of iron ore.
[22] *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1783, "A Merchant of Maryland."

tures would be best until more experience could be gained. The editor of the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette* warned that luxuries should not be manufactured since the manufacture of luxuries depended upon "fashion and caprice" not upon the real values of life. Laborers in such industries were apt to be frequently out of employment and to become a "dangerous burden on the commonwealth." [23]

Soon after the peace treaty normalized commerce and trade relations between the United States and Great Britain, Maryland publicists and artisans pleaded for encouragement of manufacturing in Maryland by means of protection of local products and suggested several methods by which it might be done. A Baltimore writer, noting that the British and French had promoted their manufactures by "high duties, prohibitions, pains, and penalties," proposed that Maryland summon similar aids to its own manufacturing. While these duties might cause higher prices, he maintained that, as it had in England and France, "general benefit silences particular clamour." [24] "A Friend to Equal Justice" appealed to mechanics with the thought that a tariff would not only guarantee the future prosperity of the United States but would ensure mechanics "a decent and moderate profit." [25]

These programs of the 'eighties might be considered as having been offered as solutions to the depression, which they sometimes were, but even in more prosperous times plans for encouraging Maryland manufacturing were presented. As late as 1794, at least one newspaper writer was still urging the total prohibition of imported goods on the ground that Americans would have been thousands of pounds richer had importation been stopped at the close of the Revolution. It was better, he thought, to pay higher prices for American goods because the money stayed in the country. He claimed that importation also tended to create idleness, and the more industrious a state, the happier it was.[26] Others, writing shortly after the Revolution, saw that total exclusion of imports was

[23] *Ibid.*, July 18, 1788, p. 3.
[24] *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1787, "An Enthusiast in Trade."
[25] *Ibid.*, July 13, 1787, "To the Inhabitants of the Precincts of Baltimore-town."
[26] *Md. J.*, Feb. 28, 1794, "Queries."

not practicable—no matter how desirable from a patriotic or moral point of view — since Americans could not do without certain necessities which were not then grown or manufactured in the United States.[27]

"A Friend to Agriculture and Manufactures" preferred bounties and premiums to protective tariffs for encouraging manufacturing; in fact, he entitled his series of essays "The Importance of Premiums in Encouraging Agriculture and the Useful Arts, Briefly Considered." He, among others, favored premiums because they, unlike tariffs, would not be a tax paid by the consumer but be a direct aid from the sponsoring organization, whether public or private. He also favored the giving of premiums or bounties for new or excellent local products and inventions: besides the actual monetary reward, the prize would confer honor and distinction upon the recipiant and would "excite emulation." [28] Although not directly mentioned by these newspaper writers, bounties and premiums could be enacted by the states after 1789, while under the new United States Constitution, the enactment of import or export duties without the permission of Congress was forbidden to them.

Some thought that Marylanders already engaged in manufacturing could be considerably aided by the liberalization of credit and money. This argument was used in 1785 and 1786 to strengthen the position of those advocating a paper money bill in the General Assembly. One such person, signing himself "A Citizen of Maryland," thought that an emission of paper money would "give . . . an elastic spring to business, which is now stagnant for want of cash." Since industry was the real wealth of Maryland, the emission would probably "encourage our own tradesmen and manufacturers" and would keep "many useful, labourious people employed." [29] A few months later "Cato" wrote that many Marylanders "ardently" wished to see manufacturing established and prospering in the state. But, he queried, "Can it ever be done with-

[27] B. *Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 29, 1784, p. 2.

[28] He also found fault with discouraging manufactures of other states by imposing duties on them. From examining the laws of other states, he found that any United States' manufactures entering those states were excluded from paying duties. He concluded, "Ought not gratitude alone, enduce us, to extend our liberality equal with the other states?"

[29] *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1786, p. 3.

out cash?" No trade or business could pay the rates which were "extorted" by moneylenders who were, at the time, the only means of obtaining credit. He declared that some scheme must be adopted to let manufacturers have money "on loan, at an easy interest." [30] The paper money bill failed of passage in 1785 and again in 1786 and was not thereafter brought forward.

A different way to aid American manufactures, increase the state's population, retaliate upon British policy, and at the same time set an example of humanity to the rest of the world was proposed by some manufacturers and their friends during the last two decades of the century. They suggested that European artisans be invited, and even financially aided, to come to America and set up their own factories or teach Americans the use of new machines and trades. Maryland, one wrote, would be the ideal place for them to settle because of cheaper living costs, if the state would only actively encourage them.[31] John Frederick Amelung, a German artisan who had taken advantage of pledges of private aid to come to Maryland and had set up a glass factory in Frederick County, was convinced that "no manufactory of any consequence can succeed in this country, when Government does not grant according to its utility and consequence, some real assistance for its beginning, and some privileges for the encouragement of foreign Manufacturers." [32]

In 1794, when war with Great Britain was threatened, a writer in the *Maryland Journal* advised that a fund be set up to encourage English immigration. His fund had a two-fold purpose: not only would English and Irish workmen living in "wretched conditions" be able to come to the United States, but at the same time, it would serve as a politic way of making war on Great Britain by draining it of men and money. He said that hundreds of "mechanicks" would probably come because of the certainty of employment.[33] This writer did not

[30] *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1786, p. 2.

[31] *A. Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 15. Dec. 6, p. 2 He went on to say that had the state encouraged manufacturing, the skilled artisans would naturally have been attracted to Maryland because they would have a better chance to become proprietors or owners of factories than in the northern states.

[32] Amelung, p. 7.

[33] *Md. J.*, Feb. 28, 1794, p. 2.

believe that foreign mechanics should be aided at the expense of American manfacturers and artisans. Only after these Americans were given bounties and other aid should encouragement be given to immigrants.[34]

Who should promote the industry of Maryland? Most of those who suggested various methods of aiding Maryland manufacturing did not leave this question to chance. As has been seen, many who wrote thought that the state itself should aid the manufacturers directly or indirectly. Some writers pointed out that Maryland state aid to artisans was not new. Bounties had been given before the war to linen weavers using Maryland flax.[35] John Frederick Amelung deplored the fact that in the United States, Maryland included, " . . . to my knowledge, no man who has had sense and fortune enough to make any progress in Manufactures, got any public preference and encouragement whatsoever." [36] Others mentioned manufacturers as being " as worthy of notice of the [Maryland] legislature as merchants and farmers." [37] A " Friend to Agriculture and Manufacturers " complained in 1792 that in the preceding year several thousand skilled emigrants from Europe had gone to Pennsylvania and New Jersey because those states encouraged manufacturing and Maryland did not.[38]

Those desiring state aid for manufacturers usually did not want it at the expense of manufacturers in other American states. Most said that Maryland should not discriminate against manfacturers of other states but only against those of foreign countries. Often there was a genuine feeling in the state of promoting American manufacturing as well as Maryland industry during this period.[39]

However, in 1794 a " By-Stander " had a complete program which he wished " the legislature " to enact to keep Maryland

[34] *Ibid.*, Mar. 5, 1794, p. 3.

[35] Other colonial aid to shoemakers and leather workers and iron workers cited in John R. Commons and Others, *History of Labour in the United States* (New York, 1918), I, 41 and St. George L. Sioussat, *Highway Legislation in Maryland and Its Influence on the Economic Development of the State* (Baltimore, 1899), p. 124. There was also much state aid to defense industries in Maryland during the Revolutionary War.

[36] Amelung, p. 6.

[37] B. *Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 15, 1786, p. 3, " To the Tradesmen and Manufacturers of Baltimore-Town," signed " A Real Friend to Maryland."

[38] A. *Md. Gaz.*, Dec. 6, 1792, p. 2.

[39] B. *Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 20, 1784, p. 2, " A Plain Dealer."

from sinking into obscurity as the District of Columbia arose. He said that "good laws and government" would be necessary to Maryland in order for it to maintain its position against the quality of the national administration in Washington: Maryland's best citizens and men of property would migrate to it. In order to avert this calamity he proposed that legislation be enacted to "secure and protect property," "encourage and favor credit," "promote industry and economy," and "induce and entice foreigners" to come and bring their wealth to the state.[40]

Although these essayists concentrated on arousing the state to extend encouragement and protection to Maryland manufactures, they noted one thing that the ordinary, unorganized, private citizen could do to support existing factories and encourage new ones: buy Maryland goods. Frequently in newspaper advertisements, a tradesman thanked the public and "their kind customers for their generous and kind encouragement"[41] and asked for continuing patronage since it was "very evident to everyone, that HOME MANUFACTURES, are, by far preferable to foreign ones."[42] Another advertiser, who called his establishment the "Federal Manufactory," put the case for buying local products well when he said of his leather gloves and breeches that he presumed that it was unnecessary to recommend "the use of this manufacture to the citizens of America, as the interest of the public as well as the benefit of the wearer must be evident . . ."[43]

Since pleas for state aid to and protection of manufacturing after the end of the war had been ignored, other interested private citizens banded together in promotional societies for two reasons: to aid and protect local manufacturing by their own efforts and resources and to bring the government of Maryland, through lobbying activities, to a realization of its responsibilities toward the manufacturers of the state. Hurt by the effects of importation of great quantities of goods from

[40] A. *Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 20, 1794, p. 3.

[41] Adam Fonerden's Baltimore "Card Manufactory," advertisement in B. *Md. Gaz.*, Feb. 20, 1798, p. 1.

[42] Perkins and Wood's Brewery, Kent County, advertisement in *Md. J.*, Aug. 17, 1792, p. 3.

[43] John Hagthorp "at the sign of the Buck and Breeches," Baltimore, advertisment in B. *Md. Gaz.*, Jan. 9, 1789, p. 4.

England—many of which Maryland and the other states were already manufacturing — and the constant drainage of specie from the country to pay for those imports, the manufacturers and artisans in 1785 appointed a committee of Baltimore tradesmen to correspond with tradesmen in other cities of the confederation on the means of protecting and promoting American manufacturing.[44]

In 1785 the Boston manufacturers' society, the Association of the Tradesmen and Manufacturers of the Town of Boston, had persuaded Massachusetts to erect a protective tariff against foreign goods. Elated by their success, they wrote that summer to artisans in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and other towns, recommending similar organizations and similar methods of protecting domestic manufacturing.[45] These early tradesmen's and mechanics' organizations were interested in promoting American manufacturing by means of protective tariffs against European, particularly English, goods.

Joseph Davis, in *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations,* states that the Baltimore tradesmen's association was formed in the autumn of 1785,[46] probably soon after receiving the circular letter from Boston. The Baltimore Association of Tradesmen and Manufacturers in turn passed the Boston letter to other Maryland towns,[47] and at least one town, Frederick, " impressed with the alarming state of [trade]," appointed a committee of correspondence and circulated a petition to be transmitted to the 1785 session of the General Assembly.[48]

[44] Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), p. 115. An idea of the number and variety of trades and manufactures in Baltimore at about this time can be obtained from those marching in the parade to celebrate Maryland's ratification of the new Constitution in May 1788. Among those participating were " millers, butchers, bakers, brewers, Distillers, blacksmiths, housecarpenters, painters and glaziers, bricklayers, plasterers, Cabinet makers, coach makers, wheelwrights and turners, coopers, tanners and curriers, shoemakers, saddlers, and harnessmakers, leather-dressers and glovers, hatters, tailors, staymakers, comb makers, barbers, silversmiths and watch makers, coopersmiths, brassfounders, nailors and gunsmiths, tallow-chandlers, Printers, draymen, ship carpenters, ship joiners, carvers and gilders, mast makers, ropemakers, riggers, blockmakers, mathematical instrumentmakers, ship chandlers, boat-builders "; B. *Md. Gaz.,* May 2, 1788, p. 3.

[45] Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation: A History of the United States During the Confederation, 1781-1789* (New York, 1950), p. 296.

[46] II, 257.

[47] Jensen, p. 296.

[48] B. *Md. Gaz.,* Oct. 28, 1785, Letter from " Manufacturers and Gentlemen of Frederick-town."

The Baltimore Association presented a petition to the same session of Assembly with over one thousand signatures "in behalf of . . . [the] country's manufactures" asking for a protective tariff.[49]

Maryland had had since 1780 a tariff for revenue with duties of about one per cent ad valorem and specific rates for a few articles such as coffee, tea, wines, and ardent spirits. In 1784 the ad valorem duties were raised to two per cent.[50] The artisans and manufacturers in Maryland were not as successful in having protective barriers erected as were their Boston counterparts. By their agitation in 1785 they only succeeded in having the 1784 law amended to the extent that coaches and carriages were to be taxed at eight per cent of their value and mahogany furniture at three per cent. The specific duties remained substantially the same, but the ad valorem duties on all other merchandise were lowered to one-half of one per cent.[51] Although the Society petitioned the Assembly again in 1786 no other modifications to the law were made. After 1789, because of the provisions against state tariffs in the United States Constitution, Maryland manufacturers had to depend upon the national Congress to protect American manfactures.

A few years after the organization of the first manufacturers' association, the manufacturing interests broadened their methods of promoting local and American manufacturing. They established societies for the promotion of manufacturing and the "useful arts." The Baltimore society was organized in 1788, the same year in which similar societies were organized in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Usually these societies did not undertake manufacturing themselves. Instead, they offered prizes for excellent examples of American products, aided skilled artisans, and published their proceedings and other literature of interest to manufacturers. The society also pledged its members to use American goods in preference to imported ones.[52] There were few, if any, artisans and me-

[49] *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1786, p. 3, "To the Tradesmen and Manufacturers of Baltimore-Town," signed "A Real Friend to Maryland."

[50] *Laws Made and Passed at a Session of Assembly* . . . [Maryland Session Laws] (Annapolis, by session), 1780 June c. 7, 1782 c. 26, 1784 c. 84. (Sessions occurred in November of each year, unless otherwise cited.) Hereafter cited as *Md. Sess.*

[51] *Ibid.*, 1785, c. 76.

[52] Davis, II, 257, Jensen. p. 225.

chanics, the actual manufacturers of the 1780's, in these societies for promoting manufacturing. In some cities, however, they did have separate societies. Although the mechanics in Baltimore had no formal organization, they were said to have been very active in promotional measures.[53]

Many newspaper essayists advised artisans and manufacturers that they should secure aid and protection from the state. One who addressed himself "to the Tradesmen and Manufacturers of Baltimore-Town" could not understand why the manufacturers "should not be as worthy of the notice of the legislature" as the farmers and merchants and why "laws should not be passed for our own manufacturers as well as agriculture and commerce."[54] A case of the "manifest negligence" with which the manufacturers had been treated was cited by one writer. The Baltimore County delegation to the General Assembly had promised to act upon the 1785 petition of the Baltimore Association of Tradesmen and Manufacturers but had not kept their promise.[56] The only remedy that these writers could prescribe was that the voters of Baltimore County, where most of Maryland's manufacturing was carried on, should refuse to elect to the House of Delegates farmers who objected to the occupations of the merchant or mechanic.[56] Continuing failure awaited the manufacturing interests unless they chose "lovers of their country, of industry, economy, and frugality"[57] to represent them.

At the end of the Revolution, sectionally differentiated as the state was, Maryland essayists sought to promote the welfare of the whole state by pointing out the desirability or the necessity for improvements in agriculture and commerce and especially the introduction and protection of manufacturing. For the encouragement of manufacturing after the war, one would have to give some of the credit to private citizens and

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 227.

[54] B. *Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 15, 1786. He continued ". . . as the father of a family would . . . not . . . provide for only two-thirds of his family and leave the other third to shift for themselves, perhaps to perish, so by a parity of reason, I conclude, that when our *political* fathers wholly neglect one class . . . and bestow all their attention to the other two, they are equally censurable."

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] *Ibid.*, July 13, 1787, "A Friend to Equal Justice."

[57] *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1786.

privately sponsored organizations. The promotional tradesmen and manufacturers' societies that were established and the private financial aid extended to immigrants were examples of this. But these actions must not be construed to indicate a decision that private rather than governmental aid was the answer to the manufacturers' problem. Rarely, if ever, did an article advocate private resources be used for such a purpose. Instead, such private impulses seem to be just temporary aid until the Maryland General Assembly could be persuaded to assume or resume its rightful responsibilities. These private associations also served as centers for lobbying activities to help convince the state of its duty toward the manufacturing interests of Maryland.

## 2

## State Aid

Maryland state aid to manufacturing and business in general took many forms, from the indirect method of tax exemption to direct state participation in private business companies. During the thirty year period after 1777 the state relied primarily on three methods of encouraging business and businesmen. It established monopoly privileges in the form of patent rights for inventors and monopoly franchise privileges in certain fields of transportation. Occasionally loans of state funds were made to Maryland businessmen. However the most striking post-Revolutionary method of aiding business was the extention of corporate privileges to private business companies.

Although the Maryland Declaration of Rights of 1776 distinctly stated that monopolies were "odious, contrary to the spirit of a free government and to the principles of commerce; and ought not to be suffered," [58] the General Assembly offered certain Maryland businessmen exclusive privileges for limited periods of time in an effort to promote the state's industry and commerce. These monopolistic privileges fall into two broad categories: patent rights to protect and encourage inventors, and franchises—exclusive rights to do business in certain portions of the state or to collect tolls for public services.

The first inventor to benefit by a Maryland patent, James

[58] Article 39.

Rumsey, informed the General Assembly that he had found a way of "navigating boats against the current of rapid rivers at a very small expense" whereby "great advantages would accrue to citizens of this state." [59] In September 1784, Rumsey had tested a boat operated by sticks forced against the bottom of a stream in the presence of George Washington, who gave him a certificate saying that it was his opinion "that the discovery is of vast importance and may be of the greatest usefulness in our inland navigation." [60] Having considered Rumsey's petition, a committee of the General Assembly reported on November 26, 1784, that they were of the "opinion that the said invention will be of great utility to facilitate the inland navigation of this state." [61] Accordingly, Rumsey was granted a patent for ten years which provided for a penalty of £500, to be paid to Rumsey, by any who made or purchased such a boat without his license.[62] The Virginia legislature granted him a similar ten year monopoly.[63] It was not until 1786, at Harper's Ferry on the Potomac, that Rumsey successfully tested a boat propelled by steam.[64]

John Fitch, Rumsey's rival for the distinction of inventing the steamboat and for the capital to put it into production, also petitioned the Maryland legislature in 1785 for an exclusive patent. The General Assembly committee, appointed to consider the application, thought the question to be decided was who had first invented the steamboat. After taking evidence, the Maryland committee found that Rumsey had been first and so refused Fitch's petition.[65]

In 1786 Robert Lemmon of Baltimore County applied to the General Assembly for an exclusive right to make and sell two machines which he had constructed for carding and spin-

[59] *Md. Sess.*, 1784 c. 20.

[60] Joseph S. Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1917), II, 125-26.

[61] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 525. Hereafter cited as Scharf, *Maryland.*

[62] *Md. Sess.*, 1784 c. 20.

[63] Davis, II, 125.

[64] Scharf, *Maryland,* II, 525. Later he went to Europe to attract capital, but he died in 1792, a year before his boat, the "Columbian Maid," would make its first voyage on the Thames; "Letters of James Rumsey," James A. Padgett, ed., *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXII (March, 1937), 11.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 10. Also see Jensen, pp. 152-53 for contrasts between Fitch and Rumsey, and Fitch's later life.

ning wool or cotton. Wishing to "encourage useful inventions as well as promote the manufacture of cotton and wool within this state," the legislature gave him the "exclusive right, privilege and benefit" of making and selling these machines within Maryland during the next fourteen years. The penalty for making or selling these machines without the inventor's license was £50, to be paid to Lemmon.[66]

The only other patentee during this period was Oliver Evans, a miller from Delaware, who desired a patent in 1787 on a series of inventions. They are named and describe in the preamble of the act granting him his patent as an "elevator" to raise and lower flour to different floors of a mill, a "hopperboy" to spread and gather the flour without manual assistance, and a "steam-carriage," a vehicle "to move by the power of steam and the pressure of the atmosphere" to convey "burthens without the aid of animal force."[67] Evans' steam-carriage had been "rejected and derided" by the legislature of Pennsylvania shortly before he had applied to Maryland.[68] The General Assembly commented in granting the patent that these inventions of Evans would "greatly tend to simplify and render cheap the manufacture of flours, which is one of the principal staples of this state." In order to make "adequate compensation" to Evans, the legislature gave him the exclusive privilege of making and selling his machines for a period of fourteen years. Further, he was to be paid £100 for every machine made or sold without his license. Nothing in the act was to prevent a future General Assembly from abolishing Evan's exclusive right upon paying him £500 current money.[69]

Evans' mill inventions were soon introduced into the mills around Baltimore, not without claims of prior invention by some of the local mill owners.[70] After being installed in the extensive mills of the Ellicotts on the Patapsco, the machines

[66] *Md. Sess.*, 1786, c. 23.

[67] *Ibid.*, 1787 Apr. c. 21. See [Edward Spencer], *A Sketch of the History of Manufactures in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1882), pp. 42-44 for a résumé of Evans' career and an explanation of his inventions.

[68] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 374. Hereafter cited as Scharf, *Baltimore*.

[69] *Md. Sess.*, 1787 Apr. c. 21.

[70] Griffith, p. 119.

cut production costs tremendously. With this machinery the Ellicott mills could turn out 320 barrels of flour a day and the gain, by thus increasing production, was estimated at $32,500 a year.[71]

Likewise without use of public money the state aided enterprise through franchises. Although there had been some stage coach lines before the war, these were usually confined to the main route between Annapolis (or Baltimore) and Philadelphia.[72] After 1783 new stages lines sprang up in all parts of the state, linking Annapolis and Baltimore,[73] Annapolis and Easton, Baltimore and Easton (by stage and boat),[74] Annapolis and Frederick, and Frederick with points farther west.[75] A great variety of stage routes through to Philadelphia were established during the postwar period. Several of these routes utilized water transportation wherever possible: a favorite route from Annapolis was by packet up the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays and by stage across the peninsula from "Frenchtown" or Elkton to New Castle, Delaware, and thence to Philadelphia.[76]

One of the Baltimore-Philadelphia stage companies which used a predominantly land route was that of Gabriel Peterson Vanhorn who established his service in 1782.[77] His route from Philadelphia lay through Elkton, across the Susquehanna, and over the post road to Baltimore. In 1785 Vanhorn petitioned the Maryland legislature for the exclusive right to run stages on the "great publick road" from the Susquehanna to the Potomac River by way of Baltimore. The General Assembly agreed that the "establishment of stage carriages on the said public highway will greatly promote the convenience of the citizens of this state by affording a constant, easy, and speedy conveyance of passengers, and may otherwise be of great public

[71] Scharf, *Baltimore,* p. 374.

[72] *Ibid.,* pp. 310-11; the earliest stage line in Maryland began in 1757.

[73] A. *Md. Gaz.* Also Sept. 27, 1787 (advertisement) B. *Md. Gaz., A*pril 20, 1790 (advertisement).

[74] A. *Md. Gaz.*. July 30, 1801, p. 3 (advertisement).

[75] Griffith, p. 106; Sioussat, p. 158.

[76] *Ibid.* See the "Philadelphia and Baltimore New Line" advertisement in A. *Md. Gaz.,* Aug. 25, 1791 and in the *Md. J.,* Jan. 10, 1792 thanking the public and its patrons for the encouragement thus far given it.

[77] Griffith, p. 97.

utility." [78] It granted the monopoly for six years, providing Vanhorn complied with certain conditions.[79] He was at all times to keep a sufficient number of carriages in good repair to convey all that requested passage. He was to make no less than three trips a week from one river to the other from April to November and two trips the rest of the year, unless prevented by bad weather from doing so. Specific rates for passengers and baggage, according to the kind of vehicle, were imposed on him, with a penalty of £5 for every overcharge. Vanhorn was to enter into bond before the governor and council to insure the faithful performance of his duties. There was to be no tax imposed on his stage coaches unless the road was established by law as a turnpike. Should Vanhorn neglect any of his duties, "to the prejudice and damage of the state," the act was to be void, and the General Court was to determine whether the grant should cease.[80]

A few years later Vanhorn advertised his "Philadelphia, Baltimore and Eastern Shore Line of Post Coach Carriages" as running between Philadelphia, "Susquehannah," Head of Elk, (Elkton) Warwick to Chester, and Talbot County, and carrying the post mail between Philadelphia and Baltimore, and Philadelphia and Talbot. The advertisement also mentions the fact that "by act of the Maryland General Assembly" Vanhorn had the exclusive right of conveying passengers and stage coaches for hire between the rivers "Susquehannah and Potomack." [81] The same year, 1788, Vanhorn again applied to the legislature, this time to extend the time of his exclusive privilege because, he claimed, "from the declension of commerce, the want of public bridges, and the ruinous state of the highways," he had been subjected to very heavy losses and probably would "during the residue of the term granted him be prevented from benefiting from the . . . exclusive privilege . . ." [82] The General Assembly, in extending his monopoly until February 1794, said that the object of

[78] *Md. Sess.*, 1785 c. 14.
[79] *Ibid.* The exact route as specified by the act was from the river Susquehanna, passing through Baltimore-town, to Georgetown or the ferry opposite Alexandria on the Potomac.
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] B. *Md. Gaz.*, Jan. 8, 1788, p. 1.
[82] *Md. Sess.*, 1788 c. 18.

the original grant was to "indemnify him in attempting and bringing to perfection an institution of great public utility, and to encourage his further exertions . . . and that the speedy and punctual conveyance of the mail principally depends upon its support." [83] All the privileges of the former act were to be continued and Vanhorn was to enter into another bond. The General Assembly reserved the right to reduce the established rates if they were found unreasonable.

A similar exclusive privilege was given in 1790 to Robert Hodgson and James Thompson over a route from Delaware, via the great public road on the Eastern Shore, through Chestertown to the Bay in Kent County, where a ferry could be taken for Baltimore (to North Point). They were also given a right, not exclusive, to run stages from North Point to Baltimore. This route was quite popular although delays were often encountered in crossing the Bay.[84]

Both Vanhorn, and Hodgson and Thompson applied to the General Assembly in 1793 for a further extension of their privileges because ". . . the late fatal contagion prevalent in Philadelphia" (yellow fever) necessitated a suspension of the running of their stages to prevent the spread of the disease into Maryland. The Baltimore Committee of Health recommended Vanhorn "to the favour of this house, for his cheerful and ready compliance with the measures adopted by them . . . and have also recognized the sacrifice he made for the general welfare." Under these circumstances, the General Assembly thought it "reasonable to grant the prayer of the petitioners . . ." Their privileges were extended to August 1794[85] but not renewed again.

Another stage line, which did not have exclusive privileges, applied to the General Assembly in 1806 for another form of indirect aid. Since the route between Philadelphia and Baltimore by way of "French-town" on the Elk River had become an "object of great public import and utility," the proprietor of the "French-town and New-castle Water and Land Stages"

[83] *Ibid.* For Vanhorn's unsatisfactory performance as a U.S. mail carrier see O. W. Holmes. "Stagecoach and Mail from Colonial Days to 1820" (Columbia Univ. thesis), 1956, pp. 133-140.
[84] *Ibid.*, 1790 c. 28; Sioussat, p. 158.
[85] *Md. Sess.*, 1793 c. 15.

was allowed to open a road from Frenchtown to Cecil County to intersect the road leading to Newcastle at the Delaware line. The road was to be a public one, but it was to be kept in repair by the stage coach owner.[86]

It would seem that Maryland granted no toll franchises to ferry owners as Massachusetts did.[87] The ferries on the larger rivers and on the Chesapeake Bay were usually privately owned and operated and not regulated by the Maryland Assembly.[88] Occasionally the Assembly did grant the tolls of a bridge or road to encourage some person to undertake the construction of the facility. The public bridge over Tuckahoe Creek was to be rebuilt by this method.[89] The revenue from a public road authorized in 1790 was to be farmed out for not more than twenty years to anyone offering to undertake its construction.[90]

These two were public facilities, but one privately controlled was aided in this fashion by the General Assembly. In Baltimore County William Hammond, the owner of a ferry on the Patapsco River, proposed to the General Assembly that "if proper encouragement was given, a floating bridge might be erected over the . . . river . . . of a sufficient width for carriages to pass." This improvement, he thought, would "greatly facilitate the intercourse to and from the town of Baltimore to many parts of the state."[91] Hammond was to erect the "floating bridge" at his own expense and was to prevent obstruction of the Patapsco by a drawbridge or other means. He was to enter into bond with Baltimore County to finish the bridge in three years. Because the General Assembly was "desirous of encouraging such laudable undertakings," it granted him

[86] *Ibid.*, 1806 c. 36.

[87] Oscar and Mary Handlin, *Commonwealth; a Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy: Massachusetts, 1774-1861* (New York, 1947), p. 163.

[88] Although subject to no public controls as Clarence Gould, *Money and Transportation in Maryland, 1720-1765,* Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXXIII* (Baltimore, 1915, No. 1), p. 136, notes, the competition for business must have exercised some measure of control on their rates and practices. Also see the advertisement in A. *Md. Gaz.,* Aug. 24, 1797, p. 4, describing two "just built boats" for the Chesapeake Bay Ferry from West River, Anne Arundel County to Kent and Talbot counties.

[89] Davis, II, 218.

[90] *Md. Sess.,* c. 32.

[91] *Ibid.,* 1788 c. 26.

the privilege of taking tolls from all persons using the bridge, as long as he fulfilled the conditions specified.

The most direct form of state aid to private enterprise was that of loaning money to businessmen. In all probability, since this form of state action did entail cost and risk to the state, it was indulged in only rarely. During the postwar period only one Maryland businessman, Johann Friedrich Amelung, was the recipient of such aid. Amelung was the German immigrant whose glass factory near Frederick manufactured some of the finest early American engraved glassware in existence.[92] In his pamphlet, which pleaded for aid to American manufacturers and for aid to European artisans to enable them to bring their knowledge to America, he said that he had chosen Maryland for the establishment of his factory from the advice of Marylanders who had been visiting Bremen, Hanover. They had told him that in Maryland he could expect "to meet . . . with encouragement," that raw materials for glass were abundant in the state, and that his finished glass would bring a higher price in the United States than in England or Germany.

> The principal point was, and which we had the greatest reason to expect, that the Government of this State would encourage and assist to their utmost a Manufactory, which drew a number of industrious workmen into it,

and which, since the raw materials could be found right in the state, would keep the large sums of money formerly spent for imported glass in the country.[93] Amelung arrived in Maryland in 1784 and proceeded to a 2,100 acre site near the Monacacy River in Frederick County.[94] There he erected his factory, the "Glass House," homes for himself and his workers, and a German and English school.[95]

The factory did begin production, because in February of 1789 Washington wrote to Jefferson that the factory was likely

[92] Examples of Amelung's glassware may be seen at the Maryland Historical Society.

[93] Amelung, p. 10.

[94] Dorothy Mackay Quynn, "Johann Friedrich Amelung at New Bremen," *Md. His. Mag.*, XLIII (Sept.., 1948), 158.

[95] Amelung, pp. 12-13.

to produce glass to the value of £10,000 that year.[96] And in the same year Phineas Bond, the British Consul at Philadelphia, reported that "they have . . . expended very large sums of money and make glass of different kinds to a very large amount."[97] In July 1790 it was said that Amelung's factory was employing 500 people.[98]

Nevertheless, after such an auspicious beginning, Amelung soon found it necessary to ask the Maryland legislature for help. In a petition to that body in the spring of 1788 he stated that he had already spent over £20,000 in establishing his factory, had given employment to 342 people, had brought his factory "to a considerable degree of perfection, both as to the quantity and quality of his glass," and had sold his glass at a lower price than any imported glass. But, he continued, the heavy expenses of running the factory and the difficulty of obtaining cash for his glass equal to his expenses would force him to discontinue "the valuable undertaking" unless the legislature would aid him by a loan of £1,000 and an immunity from taxes for six years (in addition to the four years to which he was entitled under the Naturalization Act of 1779).[99] The General Assembly being "deeply impressed with the propriety of affording every aid and support in their power to attempts of such utility" granted all that he asked, on condition that Amelung repay £500 in three years and the rest four years later.[100]

In 1790 the General Assembly granted Amelung further time for repayment of his loan, because his glass works had been destroyed by fire.[101] A General Assembly resolution of 1791 declared that since Amelung had suffered "unexpected and heavy" losses and could not repay his loan at the times agreed upon, "without great injury to his manufactory," he should "be entitled to receive the same indulgence as to the

[96] Davis, II, 264.

[97] *Ibid.*, Bond thought the quality of the different kinds of glass made there "very mean," "thick and heavy," and "irregular and dim."

[98] *Ibid.*

[99] This act relieved new citizens who were "tradesmen, manufacturers, or artificers" of all taxes for four years; all other new citizens would be relieved for two years; *Md. Sess.*, 1779 July c. 6, 1772 c. 14, 1773 c 26.

[100] *Ibid.*, 1788 May c. 7.

[101] *Ibid.*, 1790 Resolution. In May 1790 Amelung had petitioned Congress for a loan and had been refused; Quynn, 170.

times of payment, that the other debtors to the state . . . will be entitled to" under provision of an act passed for debtors that session.[102] Whether Amelung repaid the money to the state is uncertain, but it is probable that he did not, because in 1800 Amelung died while the New Bremen factory was still in financial difficulties. Amelung's son, Johann Friedrich Magnus Amelung, moved the glass factory to Baltimore in 1800, but by 1802 he had to cease operations because he too was in financial straits.[103]

In the field of direct loans to businessmen the state's experience in this first and only case probably disappointed all concerned. Evidently Amelung's failure made the state cautious in investing its funds in risky ventures, no matter how laudable or desirable they seemed to be.

Tax exemption, including the relief of all taxes for limited periods of time on new citizens, particularly merchants, manufacturers, and artisans, was used by the state to attract desirable citizens and businesses to Maryland. Monopolistic privileges and loans were used sparingly to aid private business in projects the General Assembly thought worthy and of benefit to Maryland. In the popular writings of the times, there was neither denunciation nor even discussion about the wisdom of the state's granting monopolies or privileges to individual businessmen.

## 3

### Corporate Privileges and State Participation: Transportation Improvements

Incorporation of privately-owned business, by far the most important means of state aid to Maryland business during this period, was a method never before utilized by the General Assembly to promote private enterprise. Corporate privileges in Maryland before the war had been confined to the erection of municipal corporations like the City of Annapolis or the

[102] *Md. Sess.*, 1791 Resolutions. The 1791 act provided a six months stay on debts.

[103] Quynn, 177. By an act of 1798 "for relief of certain foreigners" J. F. M. Amelung was secured in his property as if he had been a naturalized citizen at the time he acquired it.

creation of public corporations of a charitable or educational nature like the "free schools" of Maryland, established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Maryland businessmen involved in certain types of enterprise found the corporation better suited to their needs than the partnership or joint-stock company.[104] Promoters of transportation improvements were interested in the legal provision of eminent domain which was often inserted in corporate charters. Bankers and insurance writers or associations, because of their comparatively greater capital risks, desired corporate charters that could provide them with limited liability.[105]

Incorporation under English law was considered a special privilege: corporations were always created by "letters patent" from the Crown.[106] During the Revolution when the American states became soverign, the power of granting corporate privileges was implicitly assumed.[107] In undertaking interstate projects both before and after 1789 Maryland preferred to exercise its sovereign right of incorporation through concurrent charters from each state concerned than to rely upon the central government's power of incorporation.[108]

All of Maryland's business incorporations in this period were by special act.[109] During more than one-half century of

[104] In this article "business corporation" will be used in the broad sense of any corporation formed with a profit motive and will include financial corporations, although today they are not usually thought of as a business corporations.

[105] Davis, I, 5, lists features common to all corporations in the eighteenth century: its juridical nature as a "person," its immortality, its distinct name by which it could sue and be sued, its perpetual succession, its ability to hold property as its own, its limited liability, and its well-defined constitution. But more recent writers, Oscar and Mary Handlin, "Origins of the American Business Corporation," *Journal of Economic History*, V (1945) and Shaw Livermore. *Early American Land Companies, Their Influence on Corporate Development* (New York, 1939) p. 226, disagree with Davis on the establishment of limited liability as a common feature of eighteenth-century corporations. In a matter of immortality, many Maryland charters were issued for only a specified number of years.

[106] Davis, I, 5-6, II, 329.

[107] *Ibid.*, II, 8-9. Usually this power was not mentioned in the state constitutions because of its "implied inclusion in legislative powers" and because "its significance was not yet recognized."

[108] See the Potomac Company 1784 bi-state incorporation with Virginia, and the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, 1799, involving Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware incorporations.

[109] There was no general incorporation law in Maryland until 1852.

such incorporation, corporate privileges were granted sparingly by the General Assembly, probably because of its fear of monopolies and because of prejudice against some English corporations which had been operating in the colonies before the Revolution.[110] Between 1783 and 1807 the General Assembly created forty-two business corporations. The largest number created in any one year was eleven in 1804. Four types of companies were incorporated in Maryland: companies for transportation improvements, banks, insurance companies, and local public utility companies.

TABLE I

CORPORATIONS CHARTERED FOR BUSINESS PURPOSES
SPECIAL ACT 1777-1807

| *Type* | | *Number* | *Per Cent of Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Transportation | | 22 | 52 |
| Canals | 5 | 11 | |
| Turnpike Roads | 10 | 24 | |
| Toll-Bridges | 7 | 17 | |
| | 22 | 52 | |
| Banks | | 7 | 17 |
| Insurance | | 10 | 24 |
| Public Utilities | | | |
| Water Companies | | 2 | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | | 1 | 2 |
| | | 52 | 100% |

Often Maryland participated directly in such companies by purchasing stock and electing directors in proportion to the amount of stock held. The "mixed corporation," as this state participation in private enterprise is usually known, was peculiar to Maryland and several other American states at that time.

Of the private interests seeking to improve transportation facilities, those first to apply to the Maryland legislature for corporate privileges were the inland navigation companies. Proj-

[110] Davis, II, 329.

ects to improve inland navigation, writes an authority on early American corporations, "called forth more corporation charters, more other legislative acts and more state support" in the states as a whole, than any other branch of early private enterprise.[111] Maryland was an early leader in this category of transportation companies. Even before the Revolution Maryland and Virginia had discussed the improvement of the Potomac River. Surveys were also made in 1767-68 to find the best route for a canal connecting the Chesapeake and Delaware bays.[112] These projects were put aside during the Revolution. However the war illustrated the necessity for good transportation on a larger than local scale.

Several of these projects, which were revived or begun after the war, were considered by the people of various states to be of nationwide importance.[113] Such were the hopes entertained by Marylanders, particularly Baltimoreans, for the Susquehanna canal. Before the war Baltimore interests built roads into the Susquehanna Valley of Pennsylvania to tap the growing trade of the area. Those Philadelphians who regularly controlled the government of Pennsylvania had provided little transportation between the valley and Philadelphia. They thought, however, that because of Pennsylvania's border troubles with Maryland, their western farmers would be forced to trade with Philadelphia, but this was not the case. Baltimore's war boom made it possible for that city to turn to internal improvements before Philadelphia could.[114] A commission was appointed in 1783 by the General Assembly to view the Susquehanna River in Maryland; if they decided that it could be cleared of obstructions and be made navigable, they were to estimate the expenses and make an accurate survey.[115]

At the November session of the same year, the commission reported favorably and "The Proprietors of the Susquehanna Canal" were incorporated to undertake the project. The mem-

[111] *Ibid.*, II, 184.
[112] *Ibid.*, I, 111-16.
[113] *Ibid.*, II, 16-17, 137.
[114] James W. Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry, 1780-1860* (Harrisburg, Penn., 1947), pp. 4, 16, 9. Only after 1789 did Philadelphia become interested in internal improvements and begin connecting Philadelphia and Central Pennsylvania by water and land routes.
[115] *Md. Sess.*, 1783 Apr., Resolution No. 17.

bers of the company, which was chiefly composed of Baltimoreans,[116] had already subscribed £18,500, and were, by the terms of the incorporation, to raise £1,500 more. With this amount they were to make a canal, thirty feet wide and three feet deep, from Love Island, near the Pennsylvania border, to the mouth of the Susquehanna River. The company was to have perpetual succession, the right of eminent domain, and the right to impose tolls, not exceeding one shilling per ton. Since the General Assembly wished to give the "undertaking every encouragement and support," it also allowed the corporation, as an indemnification for its great risk and expense, the exclusive right to erect grist mills and other water works on the canal. If the canal were not begun by October 1784, and finished in seven years, the act was to be void.[117]

Work had been begun by the next year, when the company applied to the legislature for several changes in its charter: the most important of which was the changing of the basis of the toll rates from tonnage to rates that differed according to the type of product carried. Several privileges which had been overlooked in the original charter were granted to the company. The canal and works were vested in the shareholders as tenants in common and were to be considered real estate: thus, legally, the company was not a true corporation. The canal and works were also ". . . forever exempt from any tax, imposition, duty, or assessment whatsoever . . .," and the company's shares were made transferable. The Assembly again asserted that it was willing to do every thing in its power to aid the project because its accomplishment "would extend the commerce of the state."[118] By April 27, 1785 Madison was able to write to Jefferson that "the undertaking on the Susquehannah by Maryland goes on with great spirit and expectations." And a little more than a year later he reported to Jefferson that the project was "in such forwardness as to leave no doubt of its success."[119]

Time and again it was necessary for the legislature to come to the aid of the company by extending the time for comple-

[116] Griffith, p. 101.
[117] *Md. Sess.*, 1783 c. 23. There were twenty shares at £1,000 apiece.
[118] *Ibid.*, 1784, c. 66.
[119] Davis, II, 119.

tion,[120] increasing shares, and allowing foreigners or aliens to purchase stock in order to bring more capital into the company.[121] Governor Stone, in his speech to the legislature in 1796, asked that "a liberal sum of money be granted and applied in aid of the funds of the Susquehanna Company to complete the navigation of that river as far as it extends in Maryland." [122] In its reply the General Assembly declared that it would give the application of the Susquehanna Canal Company "the consideration which its importance merits." [123] However, not until 1799 did the legislature grant the company a loan of $30,000 at six per cent interest for ten years to be used to open the canal.[124]

Soon it was seen that no matter how much effort and money was put in canalling the Susquehanna in Maryland, it would be of little use unless Pennsylvania would give permission for the obstructions to be removed from the river on the Pennsylvania side.[125] Of course Philadelphia, not desiring to benefit Baltimore, its greatest rival, at its own expense, refused. Maryland then decided to clear the river bed of obstructions, and first declared the Susquehanna River a public highway, giving anyone willing the permission to clear the river. Two years later, finding this work proceeding inadequately, the legislature gave the Susquehanna Canal Company the right to charge half-tolls on the river itself if within five years it would spend $5,000 to clear the river bed.[126] Pennsylvanians were furious about this law because just a short time before Maryland had declared the river a public highway, i.e., toll free to all. Thereupon Pennsylvania reinstated its old policy of obstruction by passing an act that year making it an offense, punishable by a fine of $200 to $2,000, to remove any obstacles

[120] *Md. Sess.*, 1790 c. 36 extending time to 1798 and 1797 c. 99 extending to Dec. 1805.

[121] *Ibid.*, and 1799 c. 17, 1801 c. 99.

[122] A. *Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 24, 1796, p. 2

[123] *Ibid.*

[124] *Md. Sess.*, c. 17.

[125] See Davis, II, 119 on contemporary opinion of the limited value of Maryland's canal and a New Yorker's view of Pennsylvania's "narrow and partial views."

[126] *Md. Sess.*, 1797 c. 99, 1799 c. 17. See also 1795 c. 63, 1804 c. 100 authorizing lotteries to improve the river bed. These acts do not place the lotteries under the control of the Susquehanna Canal Company as Livingood, p. 35, says although some original subscribers to the canal stock appear as managers of the lotteries.

in the Susquehanna close to the Maryland line. This prevented any improvements below Columbia, Pennsylvania, until 1801 when, in return for Maryland's somewhat reluctant permission to construct the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, Pennsylvania declared the Susquehanna River a public highway.[127]

Maryland-Pennsylvania relations were eased further in 1802 when the Maryland canal was complete enough for the governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania to inspect it. The two governors agreed that the canal constituted "probably the most important national work on this side of the Atlantic . . . [and] that the great national object contemplated can never be realized but by the joint exertions and under the joint authorities of the two states of Pennsylvania and Maryland."[128] In order to gain Pennsylvania's co-operation, Maryland was to prevail upon the Canal Company to relinquish its right to any tolls on the river bed.[129] Despite these fine words between the governors, Pennsylvania's attitude remained obdurate. Canal Company officials attempted to remove obstructions from Pennsylvania territory and were prevented from so doing by Pennsylvania officials acting under the 1799 act which made this illegal.[130] When it was found that Pennsylvania would not co-operate in any way, the Susquehanna stock fell from £1,000 per share to £500.[131]

In 1803 the canal managers announced that the route through Maryland was officially finished. It was a rough and irregular canal with many locks. Since the canal had been constructed as much for the purpose of erecting water-powered mills as for transportation, the canal tended to silt up. In time it became almost as dangerous to navigate as the river, and, because of its tolls, it was avoided in seasons when the river was navigable. In addition the engineers of the canal had made a serious mistake in cutting the canal too narrow and shallow. Since the usual boats for carrying Susqehanna prod-

[127] *Ibid.*, p.33.
[128] A. *Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 18, 1802, p. 2, Governor Mercer's Communication to the General Assembly.
[129] *Md. Sess.*, 1803 c. 102 ending the company's tolls on the river bed and increasing its tolls on the canal.
[130] Livingood, p. 35.
[131] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

ucts were wide, flat-bottomed boats, the river was used whenever possible.[132] The canal proved unprofitable despite state aid, assessments on stockholders, lotteries, and tax exemptions. When the canal was sold in 1817, the original owners suffered great financial losses.[133]

One year after the incorporation of the Susquehanna Canal Company a second project of national importance, the improvement of the Potomac River, was undertaken by Maryland, in co-operation with Virginia. There were interstate disputes blocking this project also. Maryland had always claimed that the state's original land grant had given it sole ownership and exclusive jurisdiction over the Potomac River up to the Virginia shore. This along with Maryland's position upon the Chesapeake Bay, made it necessary that the states' respective rights should be carefully defined. Meetings between the two states during the war had proved unfruitful.[134] Maryland dispatched a new set of commissioners to Alexandria in 1785. There they met the Virginia commissioners and at Washington's invitation adjourned to Mount Vernon where they succeeded in writing a compact which at the time pleased both states.[135] The compact, which was soon ratified by both legislatures, provided for Maryland's right of passage through the lower Chesapeake and on the Pocomoke River, without toll or duty, and for Virginia's right to navigate and fish in the Potomac River.[136]

Meanwhile those interested in the Potomac as a way to the commerce of the West had submitted plans to the Maryland legislature for an incorporated company, and the legislature had appointed a commission to survey the river and estimate the expense of making the river navigable at each falls.[137] On December 28, 1784, the General Assembly incorporated "The Patomack Company" with a capital of £50,000 ($222,222) in

[132] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
[133] *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.
[134] Scharf, Maryland II, 529 for unsuccessful wartime conferences.
[135] *Md. Sess.*. 1784 Resolution No. 24; Scharf, Maryland, II, 529.
[136] *Md. Sess.*, 1785 and Jensen, p. 343.
[137] *Md. Sess.*, Apr. Resolution No. 23. The four obstructions to the navigation of the Potomac were Little Falls, three miles above tide water; Great Falls, six miles higher; Seneca Falls, six miles higher; and Shenandoah Falls, sixty miles beyond. Davis, II, 128.

five hundred shares. The company was given the right to condemn land and use the canal water for mills and forges. Because of the willingness of many to subscribe large sums of money " to effect so laudable and beneficial a work," the General Assembly thought that it was only " just and proper that they and their heirs should receive reasonable tolls for ever."[138] These tolls were granted on the condition that the company make canals around the major falls and clear and deepen the river bed wherever necessary. In order to benefit from the act, the company had to begin work within one year after the company was formed, and had to complete the whole work from Fort Cumberland to tidewater within thirteen years. As a further encouragement to the company, the state promised to subscribe to as many shares as Virginia did.[139] From a legal point of view the Potomac Company was lacking an important requisite of a corporation. The land and works of the company were vested in the proprietors as tenants in common so that the title lay not in the corporation but in the indivdual shareholders.[140] Early in 1785 Virginia passed a similar act and subscribed to fifty shares.

Since the object of this essay is to trace the role of state action in private enterprise in Maryland, only that part of the Potomac Company's history relating directly to state encouragement and aid to the company will be discussed.[141] George Washington, one of the most ardent advocates of opening the Potomac route to the West, had wanted the state governments themselves to undertake the work. But when he saw that there was little chance for this plan to be adopted, he lent his name and influence to the plan of a corporation in which the states would be stockholders.[142] In order to make the Potomac River an actual route for western commerce, roads linking the Potomac with the Ohio River had to be provided. Conferences among commissioners of Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania

[138] *Md. Sess.*, 1784 c. 33 (Preamble).

[139] *Ibid.*

[140] Livermore, p. 256. As in the Susquehanna Company, the canal and works were exempted from taxation.

[141] For a general account of the company's history see Davis, II, 120-136, and a monograph by Cora Bacon-Foster, " Early Chapters in the Development of the Potomac Route to the West." *Proceedings of the Columbia Historical Society*, XV (1911).

[142] Davis, II, 121.

brought agreements, grudging on Pennsylvania's side, on routes for such roads, costs, and free use of the Ohio River. By 1786 all three states had approved these plans.[143] Baltimore merchants were always opposed to any improvement to Potomac navigation because it would direct much of the western trade to the Potomac ports of Georgetown and Alexandria. However, the Baltimore interests did not block the project in 1784, probably because they thought it unlikely to succeed;[144] but many citizens complained bitterly in the Baltimore newspapers about the money the legislature had voted to spend on opening the Potomac.[145] Annapolitans who favored the project, partly as a check to Baltimore's influence and power, replied that if attempts to link east and west were not made, the western trade "will otherwise go down the Mississippi." Virginia, one article continued, would not derive all the benefits from the act. Georgetown, Maryland was further upstream than Alexandria and could expect great benefits.[146]

A president, George Washington and directors for the company were elected in 1785 and soon placed advertisements in the Annapolis paper for a manager and assistants and 100 laborers.[147] Work was actually begun August 8, 1785 at Shenandoah Falls, Harper's Ferry. By 1792 many boats were able to come from the headwaters to Great Falls, and the Company, by a revision of its charter, was allowed to charge half tolls on this traffic.[148]

After this initial advance the work was slow and the company sought further state aid. Almost immediately the company had been beset by problems of finance, labor, management, and lack of technical knowledge common to all canal

[143] *Md. Sess.*, 1784 Resolution No. 7, Davis, II, 122-23, A. *Md. Gaz.*, Feb. 16, 1786, giving Pennsylvania act.

[144] Davis, II, 122.

[145] B. *Md. Gaz.*, Feb. 11, 1785, "Planter."

[146] A. *Md. Gaz.*, Apr. 21, 1785, p. 2, "Answer to the 'Planter.'" He thought that when the state saw to it that the Susquehanna was opened to its sources, it was "probable that no more complaints will come from any Baltimore writer on this score."

[147] A. *Md. Gaz.*, May 26, 1785, p. 2, June 9, 1785. It is interesting to note that James Rumsey of Virginia was chosen the "principal manager" since he was familiar with the Potomac River; Davis, II, 125.

[148] *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33 and Walter S. Sanderlin, *The Great National Projects: A History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*, Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, LXIV (1946 No. 1), p. 34.

projects in this period.[149] Changes in the charter began soon after the company had been incorporated. The size and width of the canal locks were modified;[150] additional time for completion of the works was given,[151] permission was given for the company to clear the Shenandoah River (which empties into the Potomac at Harper's Ferry),[152] and restrictions on the movements of slaves between Maryland and Virginia were relaxed. "Hardly a request of the company was ignored."[153] In spite of the utmost assistance of both legislatures little more was accomplished in the 'nineties.

Attracting sufficient capital to finish the works was the fundamental difficulty, and here too the legislature encouraged and assisted, although not always to the extent that the company desired. Following the English pattern, shareholders in these early corporations were required to pay in only a portion of the price of the stock when purchased and were subject to future calls by the president and directors as capital was needed. When called for, capital was slow to come in, and there were many delinquencies. In 1790 the legislature provided the company with speedier methods of recovering delinquent shares.[154] Laws were also passed permitting the company's capital to be enlarged, and during 1794 and 1795 Maryland purchased 100 shares of this issue. By an act of 1790, foreigners were allowed to buy Potomac Company stock; this was probably to attract Dutch capital.[155]

Reporting optimistically on the progress of the canal to the legislature in 1796, Governor Stone said that "from the best information which I have been able to obtain, the works on that river will be complete in twelve months." The governor recommended that other internal improvements, such as the Susquehanna Canal, should be aided from the dividend that the Potomac Company would soon be paying on the state's

[149] Davis, II, 126.
[150] *Md. Sess.*, 1785, c. 3, 1796 c. 19.
[151] *Ibid.*, 1790 c. 35, 1794 c. 29.
[152] *Ibid.*, 1792 Apr. c. 9, Davis, II, 134; Maryland subscribed for sixty shares of this project.
[153] Davis, II, 133.
[154] *Md. Sess.*, 1787 c. 25, 1790 c. 35, A. *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 5, 1789, p. 3, calling for delinquents to pay up or be prosecuted.
[155] *Md Sess.*, 1795 c. 51, 89, Davis, II, 133; *Md. Sess.*, 1790 c. 35.

stock.[156] In 1797 the company reported to the General Assembly that all the obstructions from the Savage River to tidewater had been removed except those at Great Falls. In order to facilitate transportation of goods over the Great Falls (until the locks could be completed), the company had constructed an "inclined plain" (with pulleys) to lift articles over the obstructions. The company petitioned the Assembly, saying that since those using the river reaped great benefit from this, the labors and expenses of the company ought to be recompensed by allowing it to collect tolls at Great Falls. This the Assembly granted.[157]

In 1798 when neither private indivduals nor the two states could be prevailed upon to subscribe for new shares, the company borrowed $6,000 from the Banks of Columbia (in what is now the District of Columbia) and Alexandria, with collateral of public debt stock loaned from George Washington and Daniel Carroll. The new tolls granted in 1797 were of great help to the company in constructing the locks at Great Falls.[158] By 1799 the Maryland legislature had been persuaded by persistent lobbyists to aid the company once again by subscribing to £13,000 worth of new stock.[159]

Finally with this aid the company was able in 1801 to declare the locks at Great Falls complete and the navigation of the Potomac open to full tolls.[160] In 1815 a report on the company to the Virgina House of Delegates stated that about 338 miles of the river had been made navigable at a cost of about $500,000 and that Maryland and Virginia had furnished more than half the capital. Except for one dividend of $5.50 per share in 1802, the toll revenues had been consumed in maintenance, operating expenses, and futile attempts to complete the navigation system as stipulated by the charter.[161] By the 1820's the company was persuaded that no amount of money

[156] A. *Md.,Gaz.,* Nov. 24, 1796, p. 2, and reply of legislature Nov. 31, 1796, p. 2.
[157] *Md. Sess.,* 1797 c. 92.
[158] Davis, II, 134.
[159] *Md. Sess.,* 1792 Resolutions. Davis, II, 135 says that a loan was granted to the company the same year but there are no records of it in the financial statements in the *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland . . .* 1777-1807 (Annapolis, by session) in the following years.
[160] Davis, II, 135, *Md Sess.,* 1802 c. 84.
[161] Davis, II, 135.

would improve the Potomac sufficiently, and in 1828 it surrendered its rights to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company.[162]

The possibility of linking the Chesapeake and Delaware bays by some sort of canal had interested Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania—each for a different reason — since the seventeenth century. Surveys of the area had been made both before and after the Revolutionary War, and the project had been declared feasible.[163]

Although plans for such a waterway were conceived earlier than either the Susquehanna or Potomac canals, the Chesapeake and Delaware was the last of Maryland's three major navigational improvements to be undertaken because of the jealousies and rivalries of the three states. Pennsylvania was the chief promoter of such a canal because it stood to gain most by it — at Baltimore's expense.[164] Baltimoreans soon realized this and were vehement in their opposition. Even Annapolitans, usually not overly solicitous of Baltimore's welfare, noted that the project "planned by some of your [Baltimore's] friends, with the assistance of the Susquehanna members" would, if successful deliver Baltimore from "the troubles of the bay trade." [165] Bills for a canal introduced into the Maryland legislature in 1795 and 1797 only increased Baltimore's fears of Philadelphia's dominance over the Chesapeake Bay trade. A Marylander's pamphlet on the subject in 1797 stated that Philadelphia's trade domination would be assured because Philadelphia had ten times the capital resources of Baltimore, would control any company set up, and would be able to destroy Baltimore "as an independent and valuable market." [166]

Meanwhile, throughout the 'eighties and 'nineties, meetings had been held by representatives of the three states. Madison wrote to Jefferson in 1786 that

> Pennsylvania means now to make her [Maryland's] consent to it a condition on which the opening of the Susquehannah within the

---

[162] Scharf, *Maryland* II, 521, Sanderlin. p. 61.
[163] Scharf, *Maryland* II, 523, Davis, II, 137.
[164] *Ibid.*, 136, and Livingood, p. 84.
[165] *Md. J.*, Jan. 13, 1794, letter from an Annapolitan to Baltimore.
[166] Quoted in Livingood, p. 85.

limits of Pen[a] will depend. Unless this is permitted the opening undertaken within the limits of Maryland will be of little account. It is luck that both parties are so dependent on each other as to be thus mutually forced into measures of public utility.[168]

Maryland, finally agreeing to the project on just such terms as Madison had outlined thirteen years before, in 1799 incorporated The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company to make the cut [168] In most respects the charter was similar to that of the Potomac Company except that the original capital was to be $500,000, any net profits over thirty per cent were to be divided equally between Delaware and Maryland, and there was no provision for Maryland state investment in the company.[169]

The Pennsylvania and Delaware incorporaton acts were not passed until 1801, and it was not until May 1803 that sufficient shares had been subscribed to permit the organization of the company. True to their interest, Baltimoreans had not bought a single share of stock in the company although 256 shares were sold elsewhere in the state.[170] The Elk River route was decided upon and work began in 1804. By 1805 the company was in serious trouble. No work had been done on the main channel and the shareholders had refused to pay on their subscriptions. The company turned to the chartering states, but not even Pennsylvania seemed to be interested. In vain it petitioned Congress for aid, referring to the canal as the first internal improvement of national interest. The work dragged on until 1829 [171] when the whole canal was finished. One of the main reasons for this long delay was the absence of any state assistance (except the incorporation itself) such as the Susquehanna and Potomac projects had received.

Two other companies to improve inland navigation which were incorporated in this period were concerned with projects of a local or county interest. One, the Pocomoke Company, incorporated in 1796 to extend the navigation of the Pocomoke River from Snow Hill to the Delaware line, had a capital of $11,000. It was given the right to raise more money by

[167] Davis, II, 136.
[169] See above.
[169] *Md. Sess.*, 1799 c. 16.
[170] Out of a possible 2,500 shares. Livingood, p. 87.
[171] *Ibid.*, p. 86, Scharf, *Maryland*, II, 524.

lottery if its capital was not sufficient. Another, the St. Martin's Navigation Company, chartered in 1803 to improve the St. Martin's River in Worcester County, had a capital of $10,000. In both of these charters the canals and profits were vested in the proprietors rather than in the company, as in a true corporation.[172] Nothing can be found to indicate whether the companies were ever active. Other improvements of navigation without the benefit of incorporation were by individuals, tenants in common, or lotteries.[173]

At one time Maryland was invited to subscribe for shares in the Ohio Canal Company, incorporated by the Kentucky legislature. Although Maryland was " at all times desirous of cooperating with any other state " and was interested in linking the commerce of the West to Maryland, it politely declined subscribing as being " inexpedient at this time." [174] Maryland had difficulty in financing its own improvements, and it was in a better financial condition than many of the other states.

However, even with extensive state aid, Maryland had found its experience with canals disappointing. State aid and the corporate form of enterprise, which was necessary here,[175] had not been able to overcome the obstacles of finance, labor, management, and most of all, lack of technical knowledge that every navigational project of the time had encountered.

Maryland found the private corporation equally important for improving its land transportation system. Between 1796 and 1807 it incorporated ten turnpike companies, some of which never laid a mile of road. But others were fairly successful. It was the only state which had tried to construct turnpikes (toll roads) under public auspices, and the state was slower on that account than other states to turn to privately constructed toll roads. The people made no objections to state ownership, rather they were reluctant to give it up. But they found it necessary to change because public turnpiking had been found

[172] *Md. Sess.*, 1783 Apr. Resolution No. 21 creating a survey commission, 1796 c. 17; 1803, c. 64.

[173] A. *M. Gaz.*, Sept. 1, 1803, p. 3 announcing that Leonard Harburgh was making the Monacacy River navigable above Frederick; Davis, II. 180; *Md. Sess.*, 1801 c. 27, 1804 c. 18.

[174] *Ibid.*, 1806 Resolutions.

[175] Davis, II, 84, 174.

to be slow, inefficient, and expensive. What opposition there was to private toll roads came from those who objected to a governmental function being given to a private organization, or those who objected to paying tolls for the use of "public roads," or those who had had land taken for road beds or had been left out by the route chosen.[176]

But during the 'nineties the ever greater foreign demand for American foodstuffs—many cumbersome to transport—necessitated better roads to the West. The preamble to the incorporation of the Reisterstown turnpike acknowledged this as the reason for the act:

> the great quantity of heavy articles which are daily transported between the city of Baltimore and the western counties of . . . Maryland and Pennsylvania, requires an amendment of the highways which can only be effected by artificial beds of stone and gravel . . . [to] be undertaken by an association of citizens, if proper encouragement be given by the legislature.[177]

The merchants of the eastern cities used the corporate road company as a new instrument in the struggle for control of western trade.[178] Baltimore became the hub of the principal turnpike routes of the state.

It was only liberal concessions by state legislatures to turnpike companies which made turnpiking as attractive an investment as shipping or banking. Among those concessions generally given by most states were privileges in perpetuity or for a period of years, monopoly of route, building on already cleared road-beds, the power of eminent domain, fines for persons bypassing toll gates or damaging company property, and liberal time limits, with extentions, for beginning and completing the roads.[179] Few states, except Pennsylvania, subscribed to turnpike stock as a means of direct aid to the companies. Not until 1808 did Maryland subscribe to any turnpike stock.[180]

[176] *Ibid.*, II, 216, 310, Joseph A. Durrenberger, *Turnpikes: A Study of the Toll Road Movement in the Middle Atlantic States and Maryland,* (Valdosta, Ga., 1931), p. 81.

[177] *Md. Sess.*, 1797 c. 70.

[178] Durrenberger, p. 46.

[179] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-81.

[180] *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 98. In that year Maryland subscribed to $10,000 worth of stock of the Frederick Turnpike and $5,000 worth of stock of the York Turnpike and in 1809 made an additional subscription.

From the private turnpike system, Durrenberger believes, came the first good roads in the United States. In regard to construction, Maryland and Pennsylvania's roads were the best among those of the Middle Atlantic States. They were built of crushed stone at great expense, while the turnpike roads of New York and New Jersey were made of natural earth.[181]

Governor Stone reported to the General Assembly in 1796 that the main state roads were scarcely passable, that the methods theretofore employed to improve them were totally inadequate, and that good roads would require vast sums of money.

> I shall therefore take the liberty of submitting to your consideration, a plan for investing them [the roads] in different corporations, on a toll for a number of years.[182]

That session the legislature incorporated Maryland's first turnpike company, "The President, Directors and Company, of the Washington Turnpike Road." Unfortunately this company and those incorporated in the following years, The Elizabeth Turnpike Company, The Reisterstown Turnpike Company, The Allegany Turnpike Company, and the Cumberland and Union Road, accomplished nothing.[183]

Maryland's first successful turnpikes were incorporated in 1804. Three companies, The Baltimore and Frederick Turnpike Road, The Baltimore and Reisterstown Turnpike, and The Baltimore and York Turnpike, capitalized at $220,000, $160,000, and $100,000, respectively, were established. The new companies chartered to build the Frederick and Reisterstown roads had less capital than the companies formed in 1797.[184] Perhaps the legislature throught the companies would have a better chance of becoming active if less capital were required to be subscribed before the company could organize. Provision was made for increasing the capital later. These roads were to be made over the beds of the Baltimore County turnpikes of 1787, provided the company reimbursed the coun-

[181] *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 165. See Sioussat, p. 168 for the construction methods imposed on the Maryland companies incorporated in 1804.
[182] A. *Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 24, 1796, p. 2.
[183] Sioussat, p. 166.
[184] *Md. Sess.*, 1804 c. 51, 1797 c. 65, 70.

ty by giving it stock in the company to the value of the roads as evaluated by impartial judges.[185]

Two more turnpike companies were incorporated by the General Assembly before 1807. The Falls Road Turnpike,[186] also incorporated in 1804, with a capital of $40,000, was similar to the Baltimore turnpikes, except that it was not to be made over an already existing road bed. The Washington Turnpike Road, running from Georgetown to Frederick, chartered 1805, was to be constructed over an old road. It had a capital of $120,000. To encourage investment, the General Assembly made it lawful for any corporation, body politic, or individual in the United States to subscribe for its stock.[187]

In 1807 Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, who had been ordered by Congress to make a report on American turnpikes, sent a list of questions to each active turnpike company. From the answers of the Maryland companies which had actually begun construction can be seen the exact status of the state's turnpikes in 1807.

Twenty miles of the Frederick Turnpike had been completed at a cost of $9,000 per mile; seventeen miles more had been contracted for at about $7,000 per mile, of which ten miles had been completed. The Reisterstown Turnpike Company had expended $200,000 of its $420,000 capital, had completed ten miles at a cost of $10,000 per mile, and the work was progressing on the rest of the route. All the bridges, as well as the road beds, were being made of stone. The length of road finished by the Falls Road Turnpike Company was a little over nine miles at a cost of about $7,500 per mile. The company thought its chances for more capital to complete the road would be much better if the legislature would allow the road to proceed toward Hanover and Carlisle as far as the Maryland line. The legislature had refused this modification of the company's charter on the grounds that the interests of the Reisterstown Turnpike Company might be damaged by a

[185] *Ibid.*, 1804 c. 51. See also suppl. 1804 c. 101; 1805 c. 15, 67; 1807 c. 144 allowing extentions of original routes or permitting companies to begin work on the roads earlier than provided in the original act.

[186] Running from Baltimore City into Baltimore County nearly paralleling Jones Falls.

[187] *Ibid.*, 1804 c. 91 and suppl. 1805 c. 48, 105; 1805 c. 79.

parallel route. The company still professed to have hopes for the legislature's permission.[188] By 1818 the Frederick Road had been completed to Boonsborough, sixty miles from Baltimore and the Reisterstown Road had been finished to Westminster. The dividends from the state's shares in the Frederick and York Turnpikes showed a steady increase each year.[189]

Maryland's turnpikes, built by private corporations with state aid, were successfully completed, and because they were well-constructed, they survived railroad competition better than the turnpikes of the other Middle Atlantic States. At the end of the nineteenth century Maryland had a greater portion of its turnpike mileage in operation than Pennsylvania, New Jersey, or New York.[190]

Almost as successful was the state's experiment in corporate privileges for private toll bridge companies. These projects were favored by legislatures and investors alike because, with their limited objectives and lesser amount of capital, they were less risky enterprises than canals or even turnpike roads.[191] Maryland incorporated seven tollbridges from 1791 to 1807 from which at least five bridges were completed. The only encouragement the legislature gave the toll bridge companies, besides the advantages of incorporation and tolls, was a monopoly of site similar to the monopoly of route granted to turnpike companies. These privileges were given because it was said that the company was assuming a burden in behalf of the public.[192]

Three of the bridges constructed by this method, were situated in what was soon to be the District of Columbia: The Georgetown Bridge Company (1791) with a capital of £32,500, The Eastern Branch Bridge Company (1795) with resources of $45,000, and The Anacostia Bridge Company (1797) with shares totaling $20,000.[193] By 1797 the Georgetown Bridge

[188] Albert Gallatin, "Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Subject of Public Roads and Canals; Made in Pursuance of a Resolution of the Senate . . ." presented April 4, 1808; in *American State Papers, Miscellaneous* (Washington, 1834), I, 820.

[189] Governor Goldsborough's Report to the Assembly, 1818, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 172-74.

[190] Durrenberger, pp. 160-61.

[191] Davis, II, 215.

[192] Durrenberger, p. 77.

[193] *Md. Sess.*, 1791 c. 81, 1797 c. 92.

had been completed at a cost of $85,000 of which $47,000 had been subscribed by stockholders and the rest by a loan. Difficulties in paying the principal of this loan had probably depleted funds for maintenance of the bridge because in 1804 the high wooden arch of the bridge fell into the Potomac. The bridge was rebuilt in 1806.[194] The Eastern Branch Bridge (where the Pennsylvania Avenue Bridge now is) over the Anacostia River opened in 1804, and in 1806 the Anacostia or Upper Bridge was finished.[195]

The Water Street Bridge Company of Baltimore, chartered in 1796 with a capital of $10,000, was to make a "good stone or brick bridge over Jone's Falls in Baltimore-town." The company tore down an old bridge on the site and erected a satisfactory one.[196] It is not known whether the toll bridges over the Gunpowder, Patapsco, and Chester Rivers were ever finished. Each of the three had a charter resembling the other Maryland toll bridges.[197]

The first businesses in Maryland to take advantage of corporate privileges were the navigation companies. As most of these projects involved interstate co-operation, they were especially important. And since Maryland and its neighboring states found it difficult to co-operate on issues involving bi-state waterways, Maryland seemed to prefer entrusting construction to a private corporation composed of stockholders of each state rather than to a bi- or tri-state public board commission. Because the projects were of more than local benefit or interest, the privileges granted to these companies were more liberal than to other transportation projects.

In the field of land transportation improvements, construction alternated between public and private bodies according to which, at the particular time the improvement was under consideration, was thought to have the greatest possibility of

[194] Davis, II, 214. It is interesting to note that the only case concerning a Maryland corporation up to the year 1807 involved the Georgetown Bridge Company. In *McDonough vs. Templeman,* 1801, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the General Court and Court of Appeals of the State of Maryland from 1800 to 1805.* Thomas Harris and Reverdy Johnson, compilers (Annapolis, 1821), I, 156-63, the court ruled that an agent of a company in contracting for some slaves did not make himself personally liable.

[195] Davis, 214-15.
[196] *Md. Sess.,* 1796 c. 56, Davis II, 215.
[197] *Md. Sess.,* 1801 c. 23; 1803 c. 103; 1804 c. 63.

bringing the project to completion.[198] The most conspicuous example of this was the public turnpikes of Baltimore County which were relinquished to private companies to improve. However, even then, the state continued to aid these private projects by one or all of many methods: corporate privileges, loans, tax exemptions, permission to conduct lotteries, and, later, direct monetary participation in such corporations.

(Continued in September)

[198] Milton S. Heath, *Constructive Liberalism; The Role of the State in Economic Development in Georgia to 1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 301, for similar practice in Georgia.

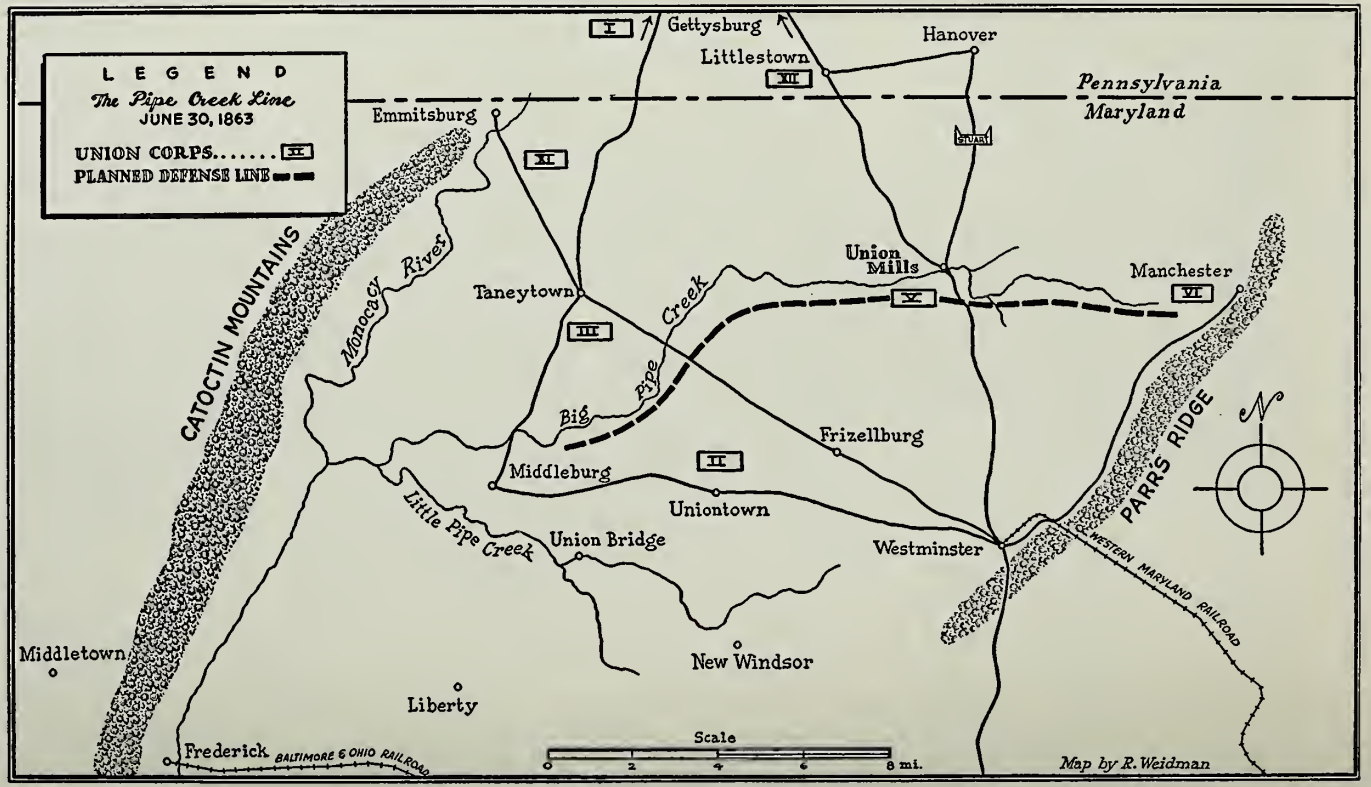
# MEADE'S PIPE CREEK LINE

By Frederic Shriver Klein

EVERY account of the battle of Gettysburg makes some reference to Meade's Pipe Creek Line, but there is rarely more than a passing comment. It is common knowledge that Meade, when appointed to replace Hooker as commander of the Army of the Potomac, planned a defense line in Maryland, just south of the Pennsylvania border, but never had a chance to use it because of the accidental skirmish that became the great battle of the war at Gettysburg.

The official Pipe Creek Order was issued simultaneously with the outbreak of the fighting at Gettysburg, and only the corps commanders were aware that such a plan existed at the time of the battle. Actually, the Pipe Creek plan existed nowhere but in Meade's head for two days, and it can be traced only through his preliminary orders to establish it. At the moment it was officially announced, it had to be ignored by everyone, except Meade. Not until the battle was over and the inevitable discussions began about what might have happened under different circumstances did some knowledge of Meade's preliminary plans come to light. However, as in most campaigns, a difference of a few minutes or a few miles might have made the Pipe Creek Line the most important battlefield of the war, and the very fact that Meade had carefully made such a plan caused arguments, investigations, charges and counter-charges that continued to cloud the real story of the Pipe Creek Line long after the smoke of Gettysburg had cleared away.

Any study of the Pipe Creek Line reveals at once that there has been a good bit of geographical confusion since 1863. Almost every map of the Gettysburg campaign, from those of 1863 to the latest paper-jacketed Gettysburg story, has Pipe Creek placed in a different location, and most of them are wrong. Additional confusion is caused by the fact that there is a Big Pipe Creek, a Little Pipe Creek and a Double Pipe


LEGEND
The Pipe Creek Line
JUNE 30, 1863
UNION CORPS..... XI
PLANNED DEFENSE LINE
I
Gettysburg
Littlestown
XII
Hanover
Pennsylvania
Maryland
Emmitsburg
XI
STUART
CATOCTIN MOUNTAINS
Monocacy River
Taneytown
III
Union Mills
V
Manchester
VI
Big Pipe Creek
Frizellburg
Middleburg
II
Uniontown
Little Pipe Creek
Union Bridge
Westminster
PARRS RIDGE
WESTERN MARYLAND RAILROAD
Middletown
New Windsor
Liberty
Frederick
BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD
Scale
0 2 4 6 8 mi.
Map by R. Weidman

Creek, all in the same vicinity. Also, Union Mills, a tiny village at a very important road junction which would have had to be the center of the Pipe Creek Line, is seldom shown on maps, because it was then, and still is, a tiny village. Union Mills, Union Bridge and Uniontown are all within a few miles of each other, and have often been confused in dispatches and in campaign histories, and there also is a Union Mills in Virginia which was the scene of some troop movements shortly before Gettysburg. Many maps show the railroad line from Baltimore to Frederick, but very few have the equally important railroad line from Baltimore to Westminster. which was the most essential feature of the Pipe Creek plan, for it provided a supply base behind the line with direct rail connection to Baltimore, and connecting roads to all parts of the Pipe Creek Line.

While Meade never had an opportunity to inspect the entire Pipe Creek Line, he had personally examined the western portion from Taneytown to Middleburg, near the point where Big Pipe Creek joins the Monocacy.[1] However, his chief of artillery, Brig. Gen. Henry J. Hunt, made a reconnaissance of the area on July 1st and was familiar with the terrain.[2] He was perhaps the only officer who travelled along the Pipe Creek Line with a view to its military use, and was very favorably impressed with its possibilities as an " offensive-defensive " line. Big Pipe Creek originated from a high ridge near Manchester, and flowed directly west through Union Mills toward Taneytown, turning south-west between Taneytown and Middleburg to enter Double Pipe Creek and the Monocacy. From Union Mills to its mouth, the stream meandered through a wide, flat valley, bordered on both sides by high sloping wooded hills. From Westminster, six miles south of Pipe Creek, roads fanned out to cover every important point along Pipe Creek—a road through Uniontown to Middleburg; a road to Frizzelburg and Taneytown; a road to Union Mills, where it branched into two forks, one leading to Littlestown

[1] U. S. War Dept., comp., *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XXVII, Pt. 1, p. 144. Hereafter cited as *O.R.*, with all references being to Series I.

[2] R. U. Johnson and C. C. Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, 4 vol. (N. Y., 1884-1888) III, 290-291.

and Gettysburg, and the other to Hanover; and a road to Manchester. This was the Pipe Creek area, and Meade studied and planned for its use for three full days.

Before Meade was given command, Hooker had been moving slowly and cautiously north, keeping between Lee's army and Washington. Eventually, he hoped to intercept Lee's supply line through the valley by moving west, in Lee's rear, and for this reason he had planned to use the garrison at Harper's Ferry. His stubbornness on this point provided Halleck's excuse for his removal, and Meade received unexpected orders early in the morning on June 28th. His instructions stated that his army was the covering army of Washington, and that he was to maneuver and fight so as to cover the capital and Baltimore as far as circumstances would permit.[3]

It is important to remember that these were Meade's first, and almost only specific instructions—to cover the capital and Baltimore. He acknowledged this order at 7:00 a.m. on June 28th from Frederick, Maryland, stating that since he did not know where the enemy was, it appeared he would have to move from Frederick toward the Susquehanna, keeping the capital and Baltimore well covered, and that "if the enemy is checked in his attempt to cross the Susquehanna, or if he turns toward Baltimore, to give him battle."[4]

So Meade, a new commander with orders to protect Washington, spent most of June 28th in planning how he could assemble his army to accomplish this objective, and endeavoring to find out where Lee's army might be. At three o'clock in the afternon he heard from Halleck that Confederate cavalry had raided one of his wagon trains near Washington, and received a warning that he must guard his communications with the capital.[5] Meade apparently never planned to follow Hooker's strategy of cutting Lee's supply line in the valley, and was at first seriously concerned about exaggerated reports of cavalry raids between him and Washington which could cut off his rail connections on the Baltimore and Ohio R.R. to Frederick, but on the same afternoon he reported to Halleck that he believed the main body of Lee's army had passed Hagerstown, and that he would have to put up with possible cav-

[3] *O.R.*, XXVII, Pt. 1, p. 61. [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*, p. 63

alry raids in his rear, while watching the army now on his front.[6] Meade had guessed correctly at Lee's general plan of a great sweeping curve from the valley toward the Susquehanna, with the alternative possibility of a sudden drive toward Baltimore and the south. Meade was concerned about the cavalry raids, but was not going to be distracted by them.

By evening of his first day in command, Meade had begun the arrangement of troops which was to become the Pipe Creek Line two days later. The most important feature of this movement was to connect with the Western Maryland railroad from Baltimore to Westminster, in case the Baltimore to Frederick line was cut. At 8:15 p.m. he reported to Halleck, " My intention is to move tomorrow on three lines to Emmitsburg and Westminster." [7] This would cover the open ground east of the mountains, and prevent Lee from slipping south on Meade's right.

Meade's army was concentrated at or near Frederick when he assumed command on the 28th. The 2nd, 3rd and 5th Corps were in Frederick, with the 6th Corps slightly to the south. The 1st and 11th Corps were west of Frederick at Middletown, near South Mountain. Most of the troops had just finished a long, fatiguing march, all of them were weary, and a good many took advantage of the lull to relax and get drunk.[8] Meade studied the terrain between the Pennsylvania line and Baltimore, and tried to analyze conflicting reports on the whereabouts of the rebels.

On this same evening, while Meade was drawing up orders for movements away from Frederick, Lee at Chambersburg learned from a scout that the Union army was at Frederick in a fairly heavy concentration. On the very same evening, the bridge across the Susquehanna at Wrightsville was burned, preventing control of that river. Lee's army was scattered from McConnellsburg to Harrisburg. Obviously, Lee would have to concentrate his army, and he ordered all units to gather, rather vaguely specifying either Cashtown or Gettysburg.[9] If Hooker had still been threatening to strike at Lee's rear supply line, this would have been Lee's proper action, because his concen-

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 64 [7] *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65 [8] Ibid., Pt. III, p. 398
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 943. Lee to Ewell, June 28.

tration near Gettysburg would have drawn Union armies toward the east away from the mountains. But while Lee was concentrating on the evening of June 28th, Meade was spreading out his concentration by the extension of his forces to protect Baltimore and Washington. Early on the morning of June 29th, Meade began the new arrangement of his forces, and moved his headquarters from Frederick to Taneytown.

Everybody was moving rapidly on June 29th. Reynolds, with the 1st and 11th Corps, moved north to Emmitsburg, holding the left. The 2nd Corps was ordered to Frizzelburg, near Westminster; the 6th moved to nearby New Windsor; the 5th, which had been Meade's Corps, was now in charge of Sykes, and moved to Liberty, on the way to Union Mills: the 3rd and 12th moved to Taneytown. These movements provided a rough line from Emmitsburg through Taneytown toward Union Mills and Westminster. Meade reported to Halleck, " If Lee is moving toward Baltimore, I expect to get between him. If he is crossing the Susquehanna, I shall rely on Couch to hold him until I can fall upon his rear and give him battle. The rail line from Frederick to Baltimore will have to be abandoned. I shall incline to the right, toward the Baltimore and Harrisburg road, to cover that and draw my supplies from there." Stating that his main objective was Lee's army, he continued, " My endeavor will be to hold my force together with the hope of falling upon some portion of Lee's army in detail. I shall have to submit to cavalry raids around me in some measure." [10]

Following this plan, and knowing that the Susquehanna bridge had been destroyed, Meade issued his marching orders for June 30th which practically established his defense line, although the official order naming the Pipe Creek plan was not issued until July 1st, after the troops had moved into position. So the army was on the move again on the 30th, hot and weary, completing some of the hardest marching of the campaign. Sedgwick, with the 6th Corps, moved further east to Manchester, high point on the right of the Pipe Creek line. The 12th Corps moved forward to Littlestown, Pa., the 3rd was at Taneytown and the 5th was moving toward Union

[10] *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 67

Mills. With these four units in line, the 1st, under Reynolds, was sent forward to probe near Gettysburg, and the 2nd remained behind the line near Westminster, to protect the rear and stand by as reserve.

Thus, Meade's first two days had been spent in comparative peace, without serious contact with the enemy, with ample opportunity to study the Maryland terrain east of the mountains, to examine maps, to move troops, estimate the situation and to make careful plans to follow Halleck's instructions. He knew there was little danger of a slip through the mountain passes behind him, and knew Lee could not easily cross the Susquehanna now. He had brought Hooker's army together and placed them from mountain to mountain as a barrier across the only route to Washington. If Lee ever expected to get back to Dixie, he would have to fight on Meade's terms. Few Civil War generals had the chance to plan so carefully.

The chief excitement on June 30th was caused by J. E. B. Stuart, dramatic creator of excitement wherever he went. On this day he swept right through the center of the Pipe Creek Line from the rear, and came within a few minutes of being able to bring information to Lee that might have been vital for the coming battle. Three days before, Stuart had crossed the Potomac, with somewhat indefinite orders from Lee to move on the right of the Union army, and eventually toward the Susquehanna, but to guard the passes into the valley. Leaving Robertson to protect the passes, Stuart captured a handsome but slow moving prize of 125 brand new supply wagons near Washington and arrived in Westminster on the afternoon of June 29th with three brigades of cavalry, about 5000 men. He had a brief skirmish here with a small troop of Union cavalry, but found plenty of forage for his horses, and decided to take a brief rest from hard riding. The long column stretched out about six miles, with the head under Fitzhugh Lee at Union Mills, where they arrived shortly after midnight.[11]

Union Mills, in the center of Meade's defense line, was a little manorial community named for a brick mill built in 1797 by two Shriver brothers, and their homestead was located where the Westminster road divided into two forks. In 1863,

[11] *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 695

the Shriver family living in the original homestead were Union sympathizers, with a son in the 26th Pennsylvania Emergency Regiment; but some of the family had built another house across the road, and were southern sympathizers, with four boys in the Confederate army. Strangely enough, the Union sympathizers owned slaves, and the southern sympathizers did not. These two Shriver homes, occupied by two brothers, were to serve on the same day as respective headquarters for Stuart's cavalry and for Sykes' 5th Corps, within a few hours of each other.

"Jeb" Stuart's troops arrived first. At the old Union Mills homestead, the family was awakened about midnight by soldiers and horses swarming around the grounds. Hungry troopers crowded around the great stone fireplace in the old kitchen, where slaves tossed flapjack batter on the griddle, to be snatched off before there was time to turn over the cakes. They searched for horses, and half seriously threatened the owners that they would take them along with the troops unless they told where the horses were hidden, but they did little damage and paid for their supplies with Confederate money. It was a hot summer night and Fitzhugh Lee stretched out under an apple tree to sleep until dawn.[12]

Across the road, at the other Shriver home, there was less fear and more delighted excitement, as Stuart and his staff dropped in for breakfast at daylight. One of the ladies played the piano after breakfast, and "Jeb" sang his favorite song, "If you want to be a Bully Boy, Jine the Cavalry," and a number of other songs, accompanied by Fitzhugh Lee, Major McClellan and the rest of his staff. Then, about 8:00 a.m., the long line began to move.[13]

On the previous night, as Stuart was arriving, his scouts had informed him that Union troops were directly ahead of him at Littlestown. Characteristically, he decided to move around them by taking the fork of the road toward Hanover. If haste had been of primary importance to him at this time, he might have abandoned the slow wagon train at Union Mills, but he was within a few hours of making contact with Lee's army,

[12] MS Frederick Austin Shriver, Union Mills. July 4, 1863
[13] MS S. C. Shriver, Union Mills, June 29, 30, 1863

and the prize was too precious to abandon. With Chambliss at the head, and Fitzhugh Lee moving cross-country on the left, between the Littlestown Road and the Hanover road, Wade Hampton brought up the rear and the long cavalcade moved toward Hanover, about 12 miles north, where the head of the column arrived about 10:00 a.m.

In the meantime, Kilpatrick's cavalry had moved from Littlestown to Hanover and had just about passed through the town on their way to Abbottstown, when Stuart's advance crashed into the rear of the Union column, and a sudden and bitter battle, totally unexpected by both sides, took place in the streets of peaceful Hanover. Had Kilpatrick moved earlier, or Stuart a few minutes later, the battle of Hanover on June 30th might not have taken place, and Stuart would have met Lee on that day. But, diverted at Hanover, Stuart moved east toward York, hoping to find Early. By another narrow margin of minutes, he missed Early, who passed in front of him on the York road, close enough to hear the cannon at Hanover. Stuart moved to Dover, left the wagon train there, but did not reach Lee until July 2nd, and whatever information he might have brought about the location and strength of the Union army was never received in time to be of any value.

On the early afternoon of the same day, June 30th, about four hours after Stuart had left, Sykes arrived at Union Mills with the 5th Corps, and camped there in accordance with his instructions. The tables were now turned, and the old Shriver homestead became a Union headquarters, with Brig. General James Barnes and his staff occupying the house, and a gay evening musicale this time, with Union songs played on the old square Steinway, and Union troops camped in the Pipe Creek meadows, just abandoned by Stuart's men.[14] At 6:30 p.m. Sykes reported from Union Mills to headquarters, "No enemy about. Stuart, Fitz. Lee and Hampton staid last night at the house of a Mr. Shriver who owns the mill. They left this morning between 8 and 10 a.m., some toward Hanover and some toward Littlestown, but I take it all have gone to Hanover . . . My troops are very footsore and tired." [15]

[14] MS Frederick Austin Shriver, *op. cit.* [15] *O.R.*, XXVII, Pt. III, p. 424

The 5th Corps had little time to rest at Union Mills, however, and received orders to move up to Hanover, departing the next morning, July 1st, by the road Stuart had just taken.

By another narrow margin of miles and minutes, the Pipe Creek Line had to be abandoned almost as soon as it had been formed. By the evening of June 30th, every unit was in position and early on the morning of July 1st, Meade issued detailed orders for the expected Pipe Creek battle.[16] But the situation changed so rapidly on that morning that new orders had to be issued almost before the Pipe Creek order could be read or understood, and one corps commander, Reynolds, probably never received the order at all.

The Pipe Creek order was a clear and detailed explanation of the strategy which Meade had been working out for the past two days. " The commanding general is satisfied that the object of the movement of the army in this direction has been accomplished, viz., the relief of Harrisburg, and the prevention of the enemy's intended invasion of Philadelphia, &., beyond the Susquehanna. It is no longer his intention to assume the offensive until the enemy's movements or position should render such an operation certain of success."

Meade seemed certain that Lee would now have to take the offensive. The order continued, " If the enemy assume the offensive and attack it is his (Meade's) intention, after holding them in check . . . to withdraw the army from its present position and form line of battle with the left resting in the neighborhood of Middleburg (southeast of Emmitsburg) and the right at Manchester, the general direction being that of Pipe Creek." It was this statement about his intention to " withdraw " the army which caused most of the charges made against Meade during and after the battle, since most of the commanders had little chance to read or comprehend the order until the battle of Gettysburg was well under way.

" General Reynolds, in command of the left, will withdraw the force at Gettysburg," continued the order, but it seems probable that Reynolds never saw this directive, since he was killed shortly after the fighting began. " General Slocum will withdraw . . . two corps via Union Mills . . . after crossing

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 458, 459

Pipe Creek, connecting on the left with General Reynolds and communicating his right to General Sedgwick at Manchester . . . The Second Corps will be held in reserve in the vicinity of Uniontown . . . The trains and impedimenta will all be sent to the rear of Westminster . . . This order is communicated that a general plan perfectly understood by all, may be had for receiving attack, if made in strong force, upon any portion of our present position."

"General Headquarters will be at Frizzelburg; General Slocum as near Union Mills as the line will render best for him; General Reynolds at or near the road from Taneytown to Frizzelburg. The chief signal officer will extend telegraphic communication from each of the following points to general headquarters near Frizzelburg, viz., Manchester, Union Mills, Middleburg and the Taneytown Road."

The Pipe Creek Order contained other detailed instructions about securing information from loyal Union people, and the importance of concealing the disposition of troops from the enemy.

As the order was issued, Meade reported his troop movements to Halleck, and wrote, "These movements were ordered yesterday before the receipt of advice as to Lee's movements." [17] Then, a few hours later, about the time Reynolds was being attacked at Gettysburg, Meade reported, "Ewell is massing at Heidlersburg, A. P. Hill is massed behind the mountains at Cashtown; Longstreet near Chambersburg. The news proves my advance has served its purpose. I shall not advance any, but prepare to receive an attack in case he makes one. A battlefield is being selected to the rear on which the army can be rapidly concentrated, on Pipe Creek, betweeen Middleburg and Manchester, covering my depot at Westminster. If I am not attacked, and I can from reasonable intelligence have reason to believe I can attack with any reasonable degree of success, I will do so. But at present, having relieved the pressure on the Susquehanna, I am now looking to the protection of Washington and fighting my army to the best advantage." This report was accompanied by a hasty post-

[17] *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 70.

script at 1:00 p.m. " The enemy are advancing in force on Gettysburg and I expect the battle will begin today." [18]

These messages indicate quite clearly that Meade was confident that his plan was working exactly as he had expected. Lee had been forced to concentrate his army, Meade had probed with advance units and the attack was coming. Now the troops would fall back to Pipe Creek. This should have been taking place during the afternoon of July 1st, and it is obvious why Meade did not go to Gettysburg that afternoon.

Reynolds called up Howard with the 11th, and Howard was joined by Sickles with the 3rd and Slocum with the 12th, all of whom had been relatively close to Gettysburg. Meade called his trusted and capable friend Hancock from Uniontown to Taneytown, where they awaited news from the fighting, and where Meade carefully went over the Pipe Creek plan with Hancock.[19] Not knowing how serious the situation might be at Gettysburg, Meade finally sent Hancock there, giving him authority to decide whether to remain or to retire to the Pipe Creek position. It would be fairly easy for the 1st, 11th and 3rd Corps to fall back to their left wing position, and Meade's duty was to remain at the Taneytown headquarters until it could be determined where the battle would be fought.

Hancock arrived at Gettysburg about 4:00 p.m., immediately establishing some semblance of order out of the chaos, and made his decision that Gettysburg would have to be the battlefield. With this news from Hancock, Meade began to re-arrange his entire plan, ordered up the 5th Corps, which had moved from Union Mills to Hanover, and the 6th Corps from Manchester. He arrived on the Gettysburg battlefield himself about 1:00 a.m. By the morning of July 2nd all the troops had arrived, hot and weary, except Sedgwick's 6th Corps, which had taken the wrong road at Westminster during the night, started toward Taneytown, and then had to move through Union Mills, delayed in their march by the long train of wagons which had been ordered back to Westminster.

Meade's decision to follow Hancock's recommendation and to abandon (temporarily, at least) his careful preparation for

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 367

the Pipe Creek Line was wise, from both a practical and a psychological standpoint. From a practical standpoint, to have attempted withdrawal late in the afternoon and through the night of July 1st, in the midst of troops already moving up, would have caused more confusion than already existed. At noon on July 1st, it might have been done, but by evening, it was almost impossible. Moving up for a concentration was much more practical. From a psychological standpoint, to have retired after the first temporary defeat by the Confederates would have looked very much like Hooker's retirement at Chancellorsville, and would have magnified the effect of the first day's battle into a tremendous moral victory for the South, and another disastrous blow to Northern spirits. It was better to move up to Gettysburg for July 2nd, at least. But it seems doubtful that Meade abandoned all expectations of eventually withdrawing to Pipe Creek, for certainly it would have seemed better to fight on the ground that had been so carefully selected in advance.

However, the abandonment of the Pipe Creek Line was a great risk for Meade, since if the Confederate attack on the morning of July 2nd had taken place at an early hour, as Lee had hoped it would be, Meade's troops, weary from night marching and not yet formed into line, would have been hard pressed to hold their position.

His confidence may have been slightly disturbed by Halleck's message, sent on the evening of July 1st, before Halleck was aware of the day's fighting. Meade was told that he should not leave his left unguarded, and that Frederick might make a better base than Westminster.[20] But, as late as 3:00 p.m. on July 2nd, shortly before the Confederate attack, Meade reported that, while it was quite possible that he would attack, if there was any attempt of the enemy to move around to the rear, he might withdraw to the Pipe Creek Line.[21]

The long and complicated controversy between Meade and Sickles which developed as a result of the events of July 2nd cannot be discussed here, but the argument grew out of vague charges that Meade wanted to retreat from Gettysburg. Certainly Meade must always have had the alternative of with-

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 71

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 72

drawal to Pipe Creek in his mind constantly through the rapidly changing situation on July 2nd. If Culp's Hill had been taken by Ewell, Meade's withdrawal to a better position would have been a wise and practical decision. If Little Round Top had been taken, the withdrawal of Union forces would have been very difficult.

The last possible chance for the Pipe Creek Line to have been considered was at Meade's conference on the evening of July 2nd when he called his commanders together and put three questions to them:

> Is it advisable for this army to remain or to retire to another position nearer its base of supplies?
> If we remain, shall we attack or await attack?
> If we await attack, how long?

The staff voted unanimously in favor of remaining at Gettysburg and awaiting attack, and Meade accepted their decision without any objection.[22] It is significant, however, that minutes of the meeting apparently considered the term "retire to another position" as synonymous with "retreat." Sickles, who bitterly resented criticism of his movement to the Peach Orchard, later attacked Meade in the press and in public, charging that he had ordered a retreat, but that his commanders refused to follow orders.[23] There was never any satisfactory evidence for these charges, but the controversy continued for a full year, and Lincoln had to say comforting things to both Meade and Sickles, and tried to have the dispute forgotten.[24] There was much more discussion of the Pipe Creek plan long after the battle than there had been when the plan was being drawn up, because only a few had time to consider it until the battle was over.

Henry Hunt, Meade's Chief of Artillery, believed it would have been better if Meade had concentrated his army behind Pipe Creek instead of remaining at Gettysburg. Hunt had made an inspection of the Pipe Creek line for Meade on the morning of July 1st, at the very time Meade was changing his

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 74
[23] *New York Herald,* March 12, 1864
[24] *O.R.,* XXVII, Pt. I, p. 139. March 29, 1864

plans. Hunt wrote, "From Westminster, good roads led in all directions and gave the place the same strategic value for Meade that Gettysburg had for Lee. The new line could not be turned by Lee without danger to his own army, and he could not advance on Baltimore and Washington and leave the Union army intact behind him. Meade could safely establish an offensive-defensive line along Pipe Creek with liberty of action in all directions. There were only two courses for Lee — to attack Meade or retreat. In case of defeat, Meade's line would be comparatively short, while Lee would have two marches through open country to reach the mountains. All the elements of the problem were in favor of Pipe Creek," according to Hunt.[25]

Such was the story of the plan which Meade had worked out carefully with maps, surveys, signal stations, supply depots, railroad and turnpike connections, artillery positions and refreshed troops, for a period of three days. If he was reluctant to abandon the plan at once, it is easy to understand the doubts he must have had about throwing the entire army onto a field he had never seen, when his own plan seemed nearly foolproof, and yet there is no evidence that Meade ever tried to resist the circumstances which created the confused accident at Gettysburg. It is quite possible that if he had been able to move to the Pipe Creek Line as late as July 2nd, and if he had won the battle, as he probably would have, he would have emerged as one of the greatest strategists of the war, instead of having the reputation of a lucky commander who felt so satisfied with his Gettysburg victory that he neglected to follow it up by the capture of Lee's army.

If it is possible, after a century, to view the respective strategy of the two commanders at Gettysburg with complete objectivity, Meade certainly appears to be the better general in this particular campaign. The first essential of military command is the ability to make a correct estimate of the situation, and Meade's estimate of the situation on June 28th was entirely accurate. If Lee got to the Susquehanna, he could strike at the rear: if Lee attempted to strike toward Baltimore, Meade had an ideal barrier in front of him. Convinced that

[25] *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, III, pp. 290-291.

this estimate was correct, he prepared thoroughly for it. As to Lee, there has still been no clearcut revelation of what his plans may have been, or his estimate of the situation, except the rather vague intention of either moving into Pennsylvania or striking at Washington, with what seems to be almost impulsive opportunism. In the second place, Meade showed more flexibility and alertness in analyzing changes in the situation and preparing for them. He undoubtedly had based all of his strategy on the Pipe Creek line, but he did call his commanders together, heard their recommendations, and re-arranged his whole plan in a moment, without argument. Lee, on the other hand, was in constant conflict with Longstreet, who disagreed with many of Lee's plans, and he was indefinite with Ewell on the evening of the first day, when he gave him mild instructions to the effect that "he wished him to take Cemetery Hill if possible," some time after Ewell had made up his mind that it was not possible. A staff conference among Lee's commanders, and a unanimous decision might have produced more effective results on the second day. But Lee's statement to Longstreet, "No, the enemy is here and I will strike him here," is a very different type of decision from the kind Lee made at Chancellorsville or Antietam, where over-all strategy was quickly and daringly planned, with complete cooperation from all subordinates.

Lee was not in good condition physically at Gettysburg, and much has been said about the absence of Stonewall Jackson and the tardiness of J. E. B. Stuart. Were these great soldiers really the inspiration for Lee's leadership? Certainly Lee was accustomed to depend on Stuart for information about the position of the enemy and some of his indecision at Gettysburg may have been in anticipation of word from Stuart, after which a master plan might have been drawn up rapidly. But this kind of reasoning leads at once to the traditional speculation as to whether Stuart should have abandoned the slow wagon train with its valuable supplies, even though it delayed him. Should he have halted at Westminster and Union Mills for much-needed forage? He can hardly be criticized for this, since the next day's movement should have brought him to Lee before noon. It could even be asked whether he should

have taken an extra hour for a breakfast musicale at Union Mills, when he knew he would have to ride around Kilpatrick, but this was typical of the magnificent confidence which Stuart possessed, and which was so infectious among his associates.

Meade deserves more credit than he has received from history, but he was not a dramatic or inspiring individual personality, and he possessed little of the glamor or color so effective in influencing public opinion. But, Meade did not recklessly charge the enemy, as Burnside did at Fredericksburg; he did not withdraw cautiously at the first sign of opposition, as Hooker did at Chancellorsville; he did not delay for weeks, demanding more men, as McClellan did on the Peninsula; and he did face more problems in his first forty-eight hours as commander than any Civil War general, and planned immediately to meet them successfully through his careful preparation of the Pipe Creek plan.

# JOHN ADAMS' CORRESPONDENCE WITH HEZEKIAH NILES: SOME NOTES AND A QUERY

By L. H. Butterfield

ON December 23, 1816, Hezekiah Niles (1777-1839), publisher of the well-known news magazine *Niles Weekly Register,* wrote from Baltimore to ex-President John Adams in Quincy, Massachusetts, announcing his intention to compile and publish a collection of papers relating to the American Revolution and appealing to Adams (as he did to other survivors of that era) for original materials. Adams replied on January 3, 1817, humorously and non-committally, but this exchange began a lengthy and increasingly friendly correspondence that continued for some years.[1]

Adams had not seen Niles' Journal before this time, but he read the issue the editor had sent him and on February 27, 1817, wrote Niles that he had been "so much gratified" with this specimen that he must have all the volumes that were in print. Niles skillfully lured Adams on with appeals to his patriotism and his proclivity for reminiscence. Adams first sent on some of his early writings in pamphlet form, for example his *Novanglus* papers (1775) and his *Thoughts on Government* (1776), which Niles reprinted in the *Register.* In a letter dated June, 1817, Adams sent Niles the originals of his exchange with President Washington late in August, 1790, relative to the crisis with England, and he offered others on the Miranda filibustering expedition. The death of Thomas McKean just at this time prompted him to transmit eight valuable letters that that old friend and veteran statesman had written to Adams between 1812 and 1817. Others followed. What is more, under the editor's gentle prodding, Adams from

[1] Letters cited here that are not assigned other locations are in the Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

time to time brought himself to set down for Niles' use recollections of the early leaders and events of the Revolution in Massachusetts. Several of these, despite the notroious limitations of Adams' memory in old age, are of the highest value, for example his letter to Niles of February 13, 1818, asking, "what do We mean by the American Revolution? Do We mean the American War?" and answering, "The Revolution was effected before the War commenced. The Revolution was in the Minds and Hearts of the People."

Niles accepted these effusions gratefully, for the most part printed them promptly in the *Register,* and with equal promptness returned the letters, papers, and pamphlets that Adams had loaned to him. In sending such originals, Adams always made the point that he had no clerks to prepare copies, that he valued the papers highly, and that he urgently desired to have them back as soon as used.

But at length Adams, to our lasting loss, grew too trusting, and Niles grew careless. On January 9, 1819, Adams wrote: "You asked me for papers . . . If such as the bundle enclosed will please you I can fill your register for years." The letterbook copy of this brief covering note does not specify just what Adams sent, but it is clear that he had plundered his files of letters received during the opening years of the Revolution. Niles responded on January 16 with delight over the receipt "of many letters and papers," and announced that he was starting forthwith to put to press his "long contemplated collection" of documents relating to the American Revolution. It would be edited and printed, he said, as he and his printers had time for these tasks. He asked for more papers, and on February 5 Adams sent him more, this time specifying that they were, first, the original manuscript of Joseph Hawley's "Broken Hints" to be communicated to the committee of Congress for the Massachusetts" and, second, an original letter written to Adams by Jonathan Sewall, March 11, 1767, "in answer to a letter I had written to him in which I had enclosed a copy of the notes I had taken of Mr. Otis's argument against writs of assistants." He asked for their return "as soon as possible, for I would not exchange either of these originals

for the show book at Harvard College and printed they shall be if it is at my own expense in [a] handbill."

Niles' *Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America,* with an infinitely longer subtitle and a dedication "To the Young Men of the United States," at length appeared in 1822. It was the first work of its kind and, though exceedingly disorderly and scrappy, an influential and valuable one. Curiously, it reprinted almost none of John Adams' important communications to the *Register,* but it did draw heavily, if erratically, on the materials Adams had forwarded to Niles early in 1819 and that had *not* been printed hitherto. These included Hawley's "Broken Hints" of 1774 (*Principles and Act,* 1822 pp. 324-325, the source of all later printings of this paper), but not Sewall's letter of 1767, and extracts of varying length from five of the letters that must have been in the "bundle" accompanying Adams' letter of January 9, 1819. The extracts were from the following letters, all addressed to Adams from Boston in 1774: Joseph Palmer, September 14; Benjamin Kent, September 23; John Trumbull, August 20; Richard Cranch, October 15; and Samuel Cooper, October 16 (*Principles and Acts,* 1822, pp. 322-324).

So far as the editors of *The Adams Paper* know, the manuscripts of these seven letters and papers have never been seen since. Adams inquired about them in a letter to Niles of March 12, 1820, and three years later (February 28, 1823), having apparently forgotten about all the other manuscripts, he urgently appealed to Niles for the return of the Hawley memorandum, now that it was printed, because, he said, "I have a kind of veneration for it somewhat similar to that of the Roman Catholics for their relics." But this is the last letter on record in the correspondence between John Adams and Hezekiah Niles.[2]

[2] Adams' feelings about Hawley's "Broken Hints" of 1774 were well warranted. Joseph Hawley (1723 - 1788) of Northampton, had been Adams' mentor in the Massachusetts legislature and was one of the most intrepid leaders of the anti-ministerial party in the province. In 1774 Adams sincerely believed that Hawley, rather than himself, should have been sent as a delegate to the first Continental Congress, and allusions in contemporary correspondence indicate that the choice would have fallen on Hawley if he had already had the smallpox. But he had not, and John Adams had. One of the first things Adams did after learning of his own election was to write for Hawley's advice. (This letter written in Ipswich, June 27, 1774, was unknown until 1962, when it was

There is no telling what else was lost along with these seven papers from John Adams' early files. In introducing the extracts printed in *Principles and Acts,* Niles said in an editorial note that he had been "favored by president Adams with a large bundle of letters, written to him by distinguished persons, in the years 1774, 1775, and 1776, and some other papers. Such have been selected as were thought necessary to shew the feelings of those days, and exhibit the character of some of the actors in them" (p. 322). This statement helps to account for known gaps in Adams' correspondence at the beginning of the Revolution, but it is exasperatingly vague.

There is also the question where John Adams' own numerous letters to Niles, as well as those of other Adamses (including at least one from Abigail Adams and a number from John Quincy Adams), have vanished to. As the editor of one of the most influential and widely circulated journals of the day, Niles conducted for many years a very active correspondence with a vast number of people, famous and obscure, but no substantial body of his papers is known to exist. Scattered letters to and from Niles may be found in many repositories, and those in the Library of Congress have been briefly described in Norval N. Luxon, *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 308 (with allusions to a few manuscripts still apparently

acquired by the New York Public Library, which has the principal collection of Hawley's papers. The text is sadly mutilated.) Hawley replied from Northampton on July 25th, saying Adams' appeal had just reached him, reproving Adams for distrusting his "Abilities for the service assigned you," offering valuable suggestions for the conduct of the delegates, and earnestly requesting a chance to confer with them on their way from Boston to Philadelphia. If they could tell him about when they would pass through Springfield, he said, he would meet them there even if he had to wait for them several days. There is a possibility that they did in fact consult with Hawley on the 12th and 13th of August. Adams' dairy has no entries for this part of the trip, but his brother delegate Robert Treat Paine's laconic journal (in the Massachusetts Historical Society) notes that on the two preceding days the party had set off at 5 each morning but at Springfield they lingered until 10, which would have allowed time for evening and morning talks with Hawley. If these took place, Hawley's "Broken Hints" were a sequel. If they did not, Hawley's paper was a substitute for them. It began with the proposition, "We must *fight,* if we can't otherwise rid ourselves of British taxation, all revenues, and the constitution or form of government enacted for us by the British parliament." This is surely the earliest statement of a position which it took most Americans a year or two longer and actual hostilities on a large scale to bring themselves to. Hence John Adams' "veneration" for Hawley's statement; hence Patrick Henry's applause for it as reported by Adams; and hence our obligation to find the original if by good luck it still eixsts and is merely out of sight.

held by descendants). But the Hamer *Guide* of 1961 lists no Niles collection,[3] and the pattern discernible in the Adams Papers control file is ominous. Of John Adams' letters to Niles that have been traced in the form of recipients' copies (or what are called in the autograph trade ALS's and LS's,) five are now in the Maryland Historical Society (four in a "Miscellaneous" file, one in the Mercantile Library Autograph Book); and two others were sold at auction many years ago and have not been located since (Adams to Niles, June, 1817, sold at the American Art Association in 1923; Adams to Niles, May 10, 1819, sold at the Anderson Galleries in 1916). Obviously Editor Niles' valuable autographs were dispersed at some time (or times), and since he had no fewer than twenty children by his two marriages it will not be easy either to reconstruct what happened to his papers or to find the fugitives from John Adams' personal archives.

The advice and help of curators and collectors on this interesting problem is, however, earnestly solicited. Information and pertinent suggestions will be welcomed if sent to the present writer at the Massachusetts Historical, 1154 Boylston Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts.

[3] Philip M. Hamer, ed., *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States of America, Compiled for the National Historical Publications Commission,* New Haven, 1961. Mr. Lester K. Born, of the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, in progress at the Library of Congress, informed me in May 1962 that Hezekiah Niles is not represented by either main or added entries in the 10,000 or more collections that that project so far catalogued.

# SIDELIGHTS

## THREE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF JAMES H. RIGBY, A MARYLAND FEDERAL ARTILLERY OFFICER

With the approaching centennials of the Battles of Antietam and Fredericksburg, publication of these three letters written by James H. Rigby to his parents is timely. Although contributed by Mr. William T. Mahoney of Cecil County, Maryland, and Wilmington, Delaware, to whose attention they were brought, the original letters are in the possession of Mrs. Gordon R. Conning of Wilmington, Delaware, a great granddaughter of the writer. Mrs. Conning, and her brother, the Rev. Donald Norton MacKenzie, of Brookside, N. J., a former Navy chaplain, are both native Baltimoreans. It is with their consent that the letters have been published.

James H. Rigby was born June 4, 1832, in Baltimore. In August 1861 he was mustered into Federal service, having previously belonged to the Eagle Artillery, a militia unit in Baltimore. He served as first lieutenant in Battery A, 1st Maryland Light Artillery, until the resignation of John W. Wolcott, its captain and organizer, in December, 1862. Rigby was then promoted captain and commanded the battery until its consolidation with Battery B, Maryland Light Artillery, March 11, 1865. Rigby was present with his command in all the engagements in which it participated, including the battles of Malvern Hill, South Mountain, and Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg.[1]

According to an undated newspaper clipping in Mrs. Conning's possession, Captain Rigby died on October 5, 1889, and was buried in Loudon Park Cemetery, Baltimore. The letters have been reproduced exactly as written except where brackets indicate illegible words or the editor's comment. C.A.P.H.

---

Camp Blair, Berlin Worcester County
Maryland, November 6, 1861

Dear Father & Mother,

I left our camp at Salisbury, on the night of the 4th, inst. at eleven

[1] For a more detailed account of Battery A's service, see "History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861-5," Baltimore, 1898, Volume I, p. 795.

o'clock, for this place, a distance of 38 miles, and arrived here through one of the worst roads, that man ever travelled.

In the whole 38 miles, there was not more than 12 miles good road, and the sand was so deep that it could not be called good. We brought fifty men and one field-piece, thirty five acting as Infantry to support the piece, the rest as Cannoneers.

The people of the place were very glad to see us, and showed their gratification in a very acceptable manner to us, I assure you. We were greeted with cheers by the men and waving of handkerchiefs by the Ladies. They gave us a very bountiful colation of Hot coffee and Hot biscuits, which was very refreshing to men who had fasted for 18 hours. There is a number of Traitors here as well as at home, and we expect to be the means by which a few of the most prominent ones may be able to live as they have never lived before, by giving them good quarters at Hotel-de-Morris (i.e.) Fort McHenry. Col. Morris, who commands at the Fort was once asked what he was doing there? He remarked that he was keeping a Boarding House for Uncle Sam. The village of Berlin is a beautiful one; it contains about 800 inhabitants. They are treating us in the kindest manner possible. They have furnished us with straw for our tents, and are furnishing us with rations, free gratis. We are about ½ a mile from Berlin. We have just received an order to hold ourselves in readiness, to march to town at a moments notice, consequently, I will have to close this letter. My love to all the family, and the children; my respects to all enquiring friends.

Your affectionate Son

Jas. H. Rigby

Direct your letters to
Salisbury, as before

Potomac River near Shepardstown
Sept. 19th, 1862

"Dear Father—

This is the first opportunity I have had to write, since you heard from me last at Alexandria Va. When this reaches you, we will have passed through Washington, this [——] P.M. Marched all night, and had reached Tenallytown on Sunday at noon. [——] and [——], for I assure you that both man and beast had nearly played out, for we had not stopped for either food or water. The next morning we started and marched every day, resting at night until last Sunday 14th, when we arrived in the beautiful town of Jefferson, in Washington Co. Md, about 6 o'clock a.m.

We halted in this lovely village, made doubly so by the smiling faces of the ladies, and the hearty cheers of whole souled unconditional Union men; about two hours and during that time witnessed a fight at one of the Mountain Gaps, between Sumner and the Rebels. We (that is, Franklin's Corps) were ordered by "Little Mac" to cross the Mountain,

at Jefferson and cut our way through Crampton's Gap. This appears to be rather a tough job for Sunday, but as we are with a fighting crowd, i.e. Franklin, Slocum, Bartlett, and Newton, we immediately started for the Mountain Pass, known as Crampton's Gap. We arrived within about four miles of it about 2 O'clock; skirmishers were thrown out, our battery of eight pieces followed, supported by Bartlett's and Newton's brigades. The skirmishers soon found the enemy, firmly posted in the Gap. Now this Gap is about 600 feet above the valley, in which our line of battle was formed, and the mountains each side covered with large trees, in which the Rebels have about 10 pieces of Artillery planted, so you may judge that it looked like anything else but an easy job to dislodge them. As soon as we found out that they were in woods, we commenced shelling them, which exposed to us their position. This was about 3½ o'clock P.M. The skirmishers advanced in beautiful style. O! I wish you could have seen them, as they moved slowly but steadily across the valley to the foot of the mountain, the Rebel guns playing on them all the time, and we playing up-on the Rebels.

(I forgot to tell you that a little village called Burquitsville lay between us and the foot of the mountain.) About 4½ o'clock, the skirmishers were drawn in and the order was given to charge upon the batteries. The charge was led by Col. Bartlett in gallant style, under cover of our fire: in 10 mins after the order was given, the Infantrymen were hard at it. We immediately ceased firing, and limbered to the front, and started for the mountain, to take a position on the right of our Infantry. To do this we had to take the road through the village, which was being shelled by 3, 12 pders posted on the Mountain.

From where we started, to the village, was about one mile, and the position we were to take, about one mile from the village; as soon as we appeared on the road, the Rebels turned their guns upon us, and such a shower of shot and shell as fell around us, is not easily imagined; but we went through at a full gallop, and as we passed through the village, the women waved their scarves, and bid us God speed, though all of them were in tears, for while they stood in front of their houses, the Rebel shells were tearing down their back fences and kitchens. We went through without a scratch, and took our position.

At dusk the Gap was in our possession, with two Rebel guns and 500 prisoners. Thus ended the battle of Crampton's Gap.

We crossed the mountain early the next morning, and found the Rebel loss to have been very heavy, while ours was comparatively small. We marched on until about noon, when we went into camp to await orders. On Monday, Sumner forced his way through the Gap at Middletown Heights and drove the Rebs across the valley, about five miles in front of us (and in sight) into, and beyond Sharpsburg, being about 6 miles on our left. On Tuesday the Rebs made a stand, and Sumner pitched into them rough-shod; they made a gallant resistance. On Wednesday morning at daybreak, we (i.e.) Slocum's Division was ordered to march to Sharpsburg, to reinforce McClellan who was on the road. We arrived at

Sharpsburg. 11 A.M. same day. About one o'clock we were ordered into position in a field, from which the Rebs had been driven in the morning; it was covered with dead and the dying, so much so, that we could not get into position without striking them with our wheels. The crying of the wounded for water, the shrieks of the dying, mingled with the screeching of the shells, made up a scene so truly appalling and horrible, that I hoped to God, that I might never witness such another; but not so, after we shelled the woods opposite us and driven two rebel batteries off, we were ordered to relieve a regular battery, about one thousand yards on our left and front. The Rebels were throwing shell and case shot into them like hail. We took their position and remained on the field until dark, having been exposed to the hottest fire, ever received by any battery.

We lost one man, Sergt. Charles Marsden, killed instantly by a sharpshooter. We also had 10 men wounded, some severely, and a fine horse killed. We have the pleasure of having reecived the credit of having done more service than any other battery on the field. It was near nine o'clock by the time we had picked up our wounded and left the field.

The next morning (Thursday) the Rebs asked for an armastice of eight hours to bury their dead, who literally covered the field, and to carry off their wounded. They were granted six, in consequence of which we did nothing all day except bury our dead and relieve our wounded. We have lost a large number. During the night we were roused by the rattle of musketry, which proved to be picket skirmish, which lasted about 10 minutes and all was quiet again.

This morning we found that they had left, leaving their pickets out until nearly day break. The whole army immediately followed in pursuit. We are now on the Potomac near Shepardstown, how close we are to them I do not know.

The scene which the battlefield presented this morning, as we crossed it was awful in the extreme; the stench was awful, the field still being full of dead Rebels, who, their comrades, in their haste to get away, left unburied.

Since the 15th of Aug. we have had scarcely any rest, marching and fighting alternately almost all of the time. It is now almost nine o'clock, nearly time to put out the camp fires, and as I am writing this, by one, in the absence of a candle, I must close this up.

Just imagine me sitting on the ground, along side of a camp fire, with a sheet on my knee, trying to write a letter, and you have the picture, which I now present.

Give my kind regards to all of friends, and tell them I will write to them, the first opportunity. You may read this to them if you choose, it may be interesting to them. My love to all the family, and kiss Alice and Harry for me. We may be off before daybreak and in another fight before you receive this, If so, I will do my best to escape (as Thank God, I have done so far) and should I fall, teach my children to hate a Rebel as they would a rattlesnake, and love the Flag, (for which their

father fought and died) next to their God. The fire is dying out, and I must close. Believe me, as ever

Your affectionate Son

Lieut. Jas H. Rigby
Battery A, 1st. Md.-Art'y
Slocums' Division, Franklin's Corps.

The Maryland Battery at Fredericksburg
On the Battlefield of Fredericksburg
Sunday 12th [December] 1862

Dear Father,

You will without doubt, be a little surprised at my writing a letter upon such a sheet of paper as this; but when I tell you the story of it and its miraculous escape from total annihilation, you will at once see that it is a relic from the Battlefield of Fredericksburg, and perhaps, the last one I shall ever send you. We had just silenced a battery in front of us, and were resting ourselves, when a battery opened upon us from our extreme left, delivering an ineffective enfilading fire. While we were watching the shells from this gun, whizzing across our rear, some one remarked, that if he had a sheet of paper, he would write a letter, when bang went one of these shells, and up flew a quire of paper. The 14th. Brooklin Regt was lying in our rear; the shell struck the knapsack of one of the men, and knocked it all to pieces, scattering everything in every direction, and among the rest, this paper. So we concluded we would write.

[The paper is badly crumpled in the upper right hand corner.]

We left Muddy Creek on Tuesday evening at dark, travelled all night, and rested the next day. Started the next evening at dark for the Heights opposite Fredericksburg. We arrived there about 10 o'clock that night and took up our position in the dark, to conceal our movements. This was the massing of all the Artillery, under Co. De. Russy, to protect the Pontonniers while throwing three bridges across the river. We opened upon them about daylight in the morning. (I presume, much to their surprise.) The Pontonniers succeeded, with considerable loss, in finishing the bridges that afternoon. The troops commenced crossing about dark, and had a small skirmish with the Rebs. We crossed the river on Friday afternoon.

Saturday morning we took up a position to shell a woods. We fought all day, pretty hard, when darkness closed the fight. We had one piece, belonging to Binyon's section,[2] dismounted and two men killed. One of

[2] First Lieutenant Thomas Binyon of Baltimore was mustered into service August 20, 1861, and mustered out on November 10, 1864, at the expiration of his term of service. Born 11 July 1838, he died 28 September, 1893, and was buried in Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore. *ibid.* 797, and Dielman File, Maryland Historical Society.

my men lost an arm, which is all the damage we have had as yet. This morning the ball opened with a lively tune about daybreak, and lasted about two hours. It is now perfectly quiet. (one o'clock P.M.), and we are writing; some on a board, some on a Gunner's haversack, some on their knees. I am writing on a cracker box. The facilities for writing are not very extensive on the field. The Rebels have a very strong position in the rear of Fredericksburg, and will give us a hard fight; they appear to be in strong force.

Give my kind regards to all my friends, and my love to all my relations. Give my love to all the family. Kiss Alice and Harry for me, and accept my love for yourself.

If I should fall in this battle (which I have no doubt will be a long one) you may rest assured that it will be with my face to the foe. Teach my children that I fell, fighting for the Flag that has always protected Virtue, Honor, and Independence, and punished Vice, Oppression, and Tyranny. This I know you will do, without any Instructions from me, but I cannot help it. The Rebs have opened upon us again; I must stop. Goodbye, and if forever, still goodbye.

Your affectionate Son

Jas. H. Rigby.

---

## A WAG'S HARD LOT

By Aubrey C. Land

When that immense treasure-trove, the Maryland legal records, is explored as fully as it deserves many a tale worth telling will come to light. The work will employ many hands and the nuggets unearthed will vary in value. But even the smallest properly assayed will add to our store of solid historical wealth. Many apparently trivial incidents suggest larger principles. Certainly these minor episodes bring new hues to the colorful mosaic of eighteenth century Maryland. For instance consider the case of William Creek, indentured servant, who came to Anne Arundel County court in March 1737 with a story that improved with every scrap of evidence before the bench.

Creek first told the justices that he was an East Indian, an uncommon origin for an eighteenth century Marylander. At a tender age, he continued, he had been taken from his home in the East Indies to England, there baptized a Christian, and apprenticed to a London apothecary whom he had served long enough to acquire a strik-

ing insight into the mysteries of dispensing medicine. For "some displeasure or offense" that Creek gave his master he had been shipped to Maryland consigned to Samuel Chew, a Western Shore merchant, to serve seven years as an indentured servant. During these years Creek's papers of indenture setting forth the exact terms of service disappeared. Meanwhile Chew proposed that Creek continue as a servant with the family. Creek admitted that he had accepted this proposal of continued service, not however, "suspecting or doubting that your petitioner should be reckoned as a slave or transferred from one to another as such." Altogether Creek had remained with the family for nineteen years, until the death of Samuel Chew, senior. Now he had come to court because he considered it "very hard and illegal to oblige your petr. to serve any longer," and he begged the judges to do what was "just and legal." [1]

Aside from the unusually long term of servitude and his uncommon nationality there was little extraordinary in Creek's recital. The witnesses give a new turn to the case. Creek had proceeded by informal petition, a frequent mode to transacting business before the lower courts prior to the Revolution. The justices saw fit to probe deeper into the story and called witnesses who amplified the recital and disclosed the nature of the "offense" that started the tribulations of William Creek.

It appears that Creek's chief mistake lay in his attempt to mix humor with the pharmacopia. One day while his master, Harriss the apothecary, was absent from the shop an old customer came in to purchase one of those popular eighteenth century potions, a love powder. Creek saw the opportunity for a truly Rabelaisian prank. Obligingly he prepared a dose of cantharides and handed it over. Evidently the customer, whether man or woman we are not told, was unable to follow Creek's excursion into humor and protested to the apothecary. The ladies of the family — Harriss' wife and daughter—"were so offended at it that they would not suffer the said Creek to live in the family." [2] Doubtless, too, the apothecary himself had reason to wonder whether a prankster would be a business asset. At any rate Harris sold his misguided apprentice into indentured servitude.

The career that had begun in good fun, however, appeared likely to end darkly. Further testimony reveals the immediate reason for Creek's suit and clarifies the meaning of those cryptic words in his

---

[1] Petition of William Creek, Anne Arundel County Court Judgements, Liber IB #2, folios 126-127.

[2] Affirmations of Peter Galloway and Samuel Chew of Maidstone, *ibid.*

petition, " never suspecting or doubting that your petitioner should be reckoned as a slave or transferred from one to another as such." Old man Chew had died. Creek, apparently an indentured servant, was property and subject to sale. His dark color exposed him to the danger of being confused with negroes of the half blood, who were slaves. The very wording of his petition—" never suspecting or doubting that your petitioner should be reckoned as a slave "—speaks eloquently to his foreboding. East Indians were rare in early Maryland, though Creek was not the unique representative of his race. It is quite possible that Creek knew of another person whose circumstances had once been strikingly similar to his own. Exactly fifteen years previous, four years after Creek's arrival in the province, another East Indian, Andrew Rent of Anne Arundel county, had brought suit against his master to avoid being sold as a slave for life. Rent, too, had arrived in the colony as an indentured servant by way of England and had been bought by William Nicholson, an Anne Arundel county merchant. On Nicholson's death the executors of his estate sold Rent into lifetime bondage. Rent had then appealed to the Provincial Court and had won his freedom. Nonetheless the shadow of permanent bondage had hung over Rent as it did now over Creek.[3]

The issue of Creek's petition was happy. He escaped the fate of permanent servitude as had his fellow countryman residing in the same county, though he had paid for his prank with the hard lot of a bondsman for nineteen years. " The Court viewing the said William Creek after mature deliberation being had thereupon it is considered by the Justices here that [he] is an East-Indian and that he is discharged forthwith from any further service according to his petition." [4]

[3] Petition of Andrew Rent, Provincial Court Judgments, Liber WG #1, folio 645.

[4] Anne Arundel County Court Judgments. Liber IB #2, folio 127.

# REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Fabric of Freedom, 1763-1800.* By Esmond Wright. New York: Hill and Wang, 1961. xiii, 298. $4.50.

This volume is a general study of the emergence of the American nation between 1763 and 1800. Written by Esmond Wright, professor of modern history at the University of Glasgow, it is part of the six-volume *Making of America* series. For the most part, it is a work of synthesis rather than of original research. It demonstrates wide-ranging knowledge of a vast secondary literature; contains a number of happily phrased, if not entirely new or original, insights and interpretations; and exemplifies current trends in scholarship on the period, playing down the importance of long range determinants and stressing the role of chance, accident, individuals, and immediate contingencies.

For the years from 1763 to 1776 Wright emphasizes both the complex character of the Revolutionary movement and the importance of events, policies, and individual actions, as opposed to pre-1763 tensions within the empire, in producing the Revolution. Denying that the Revolution was either inevitable or predetermined, he argues that "Revolutions, like other human phenomena, are caused by decisions taken—or not taken by individuals." In each of these respects, Wright follows the pattern of recent studies of the origins of the Revolution. In contrast to most recent American writers, however, Wright, building upon the Namier school's studies of British politics during the era of the Revolution, puts less stress upon American grievances and more upon the failures of the British government. The Revolution, he contends, was not due to trade grievances, aversion to taxes, lack of representation in Parliament, Britain's western policy, rising American nationalism, or the inability to recognize the virtues of an imperial federation but to "the failure of a government to govern," "executive weakness," "parliamentary . . . vacillation," "chronic irresolution," and "mounting and mutual anger and bitterness"—all of which contributed to the development of a situation "from which there was no escape except by force." Victory in the Seven Years' War produced a greater awareness of the importance of the colonies and caused Parliament and imperial officials to give them more attention and to adopt a more systematic colonial policy. The American challenge to that policy

in 1765-1766 during the Stamp Act crisis indicated the necessity of standing firm, but the frequent changes in ministries and the parochial orientation and indifference of most British politicians towards American affairs made any systematic or firm approach to the American problem impossible. The result was "neither a large nor a consistent policy, but a mounting series of irritations." The decisive event was the Tea Act. American reaction to that measure finally convinced the British of the necessity of acting resolutely, but by that time it was too late. The earlier policy of vacillation had not only alienated the Americans but also encouraged their resistance, and they had already developed all of the ingredients for a revolution — a body of doctrine, agencies for united action, and a galaxy of able leaders.

Perhaps the best section of the book is the treatment of the war years. Indeed, Wright's analysis of the reasons for the British defeat is unusually penetrating and is probably the best short account of that subject yet published. Although he recognizes that "lack of energy at the center" was important, he argues against the thesis that the war was planned and lost in London and places primary responsibility upon the field commanders—all of whom, with the exception of Carleston, demonstrated indecisiveness, lack of judgment, recklessness, or some unfortunate combination of these traits. But bad generalship and poor over-all planning were not the only elements in determining the outcome of the war. Also important were geography, poor British intelligence, ineffective use of loyalists, the British decision to use Hessians and Indians, French aid to the Americans, and Washington's dogged and effective leadership. In his treatment of the home front Wright, as is currently the fashion, places less emphasis upon the internal revolution than did scholars a generation ago. He agrees with Carl Becker that the Revolution was in part a struggle over "who should rule at home," but he conceives of that struggle in much broader terms, not only as a fight of class against class but also, and more important, of section against section, colony against colony, and patriots against loyalists. Antedating the Revolution, these internal conflicts went on simultaneously with the Revolutionary movement but had relatively little impact upon it. Nor did they produce a social revolution, although they did contribute to what Wright considers were the three major political and social changes that accompanied the Revolution: the profits gained by farmers and financiers, the elimination of the loyalists, and the reconciliation of the principles of liberty and order in the constitutions of 1777 and 1787.

The last third of the volume is concerned with the immediate

fruits of the process of nation-building begun in pre-Revolutionary years. Like Charles A. Beard and Merrill Jensen, Wright views the Articles of Confederation sympathetically. But, unlike those scholars, he stresses the "accidental origin" of the Federal Convention of 1787. Although he concedes that the Constitution—like "most great developments in human history"—was drafted and enacted by a small group of determined men acting without legality, he does not see that document as a selfishly motivated and antidemocratic reaction against the Confederation. The chapters on the new Federal government rival those on the war years in quality. Containing a particularly perceptive treatment of Washington as President, they reveal a keen appreciation of his contributions in organizing the government and in promoting unity; of Hamilton's importance as the creative energy of the administration, as the brilliant architect of financial stability and as the unwitting *provocateur* of faction and party; and of Adams's relative success as President despite opposition both from within and without his party. By 1800 the American people had already woven the essential threads into their "fabrick of freedom": a strong sense of nationalism, the principle of neutrality in foreign affairs, democratic republicanism, and a kind of pragmatic rationalism.

Individual scholars may disagree with Wright on matters of emphasis, but his general interpretation is intelligent and convincingly argued. Lamentably, however, his volume contains a number of minor errors of both fact and interpretation. For instance, it is distressing to read that the colonial governor was "frequently an absentee" (p. 5); that the struggle over the power of the purse between governors and assemblies, which had been resolved in most colonies in favor of the assemblies early in the eighteenth century, was "everywhere in evidence in the decade before 1763" (p. 5); that the regulators "captured control" of the North Carolina Assembly in 1769 (p. 142); and that the elimination of the loyalists "marked the disappearance of most of the colonial aristocracy" (p. 154). These and similar errors aside, Wright has produced a work of rare balance and sophistication, as useful and lucidly written a summary of the creative years of the Revolutionary generation as has yet appeared in print.

Jack P. Greene

*Institute of Early American History and Culture*

*Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years.* By Robin W. Winks. Baltimore; Johns Hopkins Press, 1960. xxii, 430. $6.50.

Historians have long noted the vulnerability of Canada in event of trouble between the United States and Great Britain, and the present study of Canadian-United States relations during the Civil War—when Britain was threatening to intervene on behalf of the South — treats this theme with admirable thoroughness. Robin Winks has done a job here which no scholar will need to redo. He has left almost no material unsearched, whether manuscript . . or published, in this country or Canada. A buff on his subject, he relates in a footnote that he went out to an island to investigate the place where an ex-Confederate ship beached in 1881 and where, with luck, the hulk might still be. He did not find that particular hulk, but similar thoroughness appears throughout the book.

It is pleasant to relate, moreover, that the author has not allowed the massiveness of his research to pull down his narrative, for he writes with sharpness and literary style. Without craftsmanship this book would fall of its documentary weight, and it is a testimony to the author's abilities that he can write so well on an extremely complicated subject. He even barbs some of his narrative with advice to diplomatic historians. The reviewer, who likes to write about American diplomatic history, winced once or twice under the author's quotation of G. M. Young's "classic description" of diplomatic history as "what one clerk said to another clerk." Still, the barbs spice the narrative—to indulge in a terribly mixed metaphor — and readers will find these and other remarks piquantly enjoyable.

Winks thus sets out his subject with grace as well as care. He shows that during the nineteenth century there often was conflict between the United States and Canada, and certainly no century of peace as we have been led to believe. The first half of the period, from 1815 until 1871, saw Canadians constantly fearing attack and Americans looking forward to it. As the Chicago *Tribune* announced in the middle of the Civil War, the North should take Canada by the throat and throttle her "as a St. Bernard would throttle a poodle pup." The Canadians had little sense of unity of culture—indeed they possesed no cultural unity—and until 1867 had no political union. In Britain the Little Englanders saw no reason to protect Canada. Protection was impossible anyway. The crisis of the Civil War, especially the *Trent* affair and the St. Albans raid, brought the specter of annexation. As the war moved on through its four long years, with the result in doubt at least until 1863 and perhaps into 1864, the Canadians did not quite know what to do.

They were not anti-South, and passed a stringent neutrality act only at the end of the war. The Confederacy wanted Britain's involvement in the war and was willing to provoke trouble in or from Canada to get it, but its supporters and agents showed little talent for intrigue in Canada and efforts were for the most part puerile.

This book radiates interest and enthusiasm. It is a fine thing to see a scholar really interested in his work, willing to indulge in a labor of love rather than a gritty effort to "get the book out." One looks forward to more such volumes from this talented author.

ROBERT H. FERRELL

*Indiana University*

*Seventeenth Century America: Essays in Colonial History.* Edited by JAMES MORTON SMITH. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. Williamsburg, Va. vi, 238. $5.00.

This book represents a compilation of the scholarly essays presented at a series of "working conferences" in 1957 to commemorate the beginnings of what would become the United States at Jamestown in 1607. It examines "some of the more important manifestations of the American colonial experience," and in so doing questions some long held beliefs very successfully. A few of these are Emil Oberholtzer's description of the separation of church and state in Massachusetts Bay ("The Church in New England Society"), in which he points out several incidents indicating that this belief was held by the fathers of New England. It was, however, a tenuous principle, the exceptions which break the rule still being the famous cases of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. Besides the main thesis, the research for the article evokes many discussions, principally on the nature of the church covenants.

The essay by William H. Seiler, "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," throws new light on the Anglicanism of the Old Dominion, that Virginians, generally speaking, in the seventeenth century were of the low church variety; which tends further to buttress the Wertenbaker thesis that the first century produced an agrarian political democracy here. Thus the inhabitants were democratic in religion as well as in politics.

Because of the necessity of brevity in this review, the various essays cannot be more fully described. Suffice it to say that this small volume contains a tremendous store of new and often provocative information. It probes the relationship of the colonists with the Indians, the people and their society, church and state, even the seventeenth century historian.

RICHARD WALSH

*Georgetown University*

*The Kings Chevalier: A Biography of Lewis Littlepage.* By CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1961. 442. $7.50.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, three notable Americans ventured beyond what is now called the Iron Curtain to seek fortune and glory. Full-length biographies of two of these (Joel Barlow and John Paul Jones) have appeared in recent years; now we have the third, Lewis Littlepage. The last is by far the best in its portrayal of the era, particularly the atmosphere of European courts. In tracing his subjects's persistent quest for status and wealth, Mr. Davis has written a fascinating historical travelogue and a veritable directory of personalities in continental high life.

Littlepage was indeed a "Virginia gentleman, poet, military strategist, soldier of fortune, diplomat, associate of kings, statesmen and philosophers." But unfortunately he was not a philosopher himself. An associate of Franklin and Jefferson, he seems never to have expressed a single idea. Although he published some poetry and *pièces justificatives,* his outstanding literary achievement was a *bon mot* concerning a directive banishing him from Austria. When his patron, Stanislas of Poland, advised him to visit Carlsbad, he replied, "You forget, Sire, that that place is in *Austrian* Territory, where I could no longer purge with honor." Apart from this gem, the letters of Littlepage are primarily concerned with intrigue and personal finances.

Littlepage was not a man whose contribution to history can be called significant. Indeed it may be questioned whether he made any contribution at all—except possibly through his military service, very little of which was under the flag of his native country. Occasionally he served as a go-between or diplomatic courier. His most important assignment was to carry to Europe the funds for

Houdon's statue of Washington, and then he used part of them to pay a private debt in New York.

He devoted himself to the lost cause of the last benevolent despot of the Enlightenment, Stanislas II, and the ill-fated republic of Poland, but through the struggle and sacrifice of thousands of patriots he remained indifferent to the principles and ideals involved, concerned only for his personal glory and fortune. But he was always gallant and occasionally very generous.

Even though Littlepage himself made only a minor scratch on the tableau of history, Mr. Davis gives his reader a great deal of historical information. Indeed the great value of the biography rests in the narrative skill of the author. Without manipulating truth, he makes his subject's romantic conquests seem as glamorous as those of Casanova; his military incursions as exciting as those of Lafayette; and his diplomatic contrivances as adroit as those of Talleyrand. Only in retrospect does one realize that Littlepage was not a Casanova, a Lafayette, or a Talleyrand.

ALFRED OWEN ALDRIDGE

*University of Maryland*

*Recording America's Past: An Interpretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607-1884.* By DAVID D. VAN TASSEL. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. xii, 223. $6.

This book deals with the whole range of American historiography up to the founding of the American Historical Association in 1884. The author considers early historians, societies, and activities to provide a chronological, and subsequently, a different approach to the subject. Michael Kraus uses the biographical approach, while Hugh Hale Bellot and Thomas J. Pressly both use the topical approach. Van Tassel's book is, therefore, a study of how American historiography developed as it did in what he has termed " the age of the amateur historian."

In reading this book, one is inescapably drawn to several conclusions. First, New Englanders were the most prolific of our early historical writers, and in the forefront of these were the Congregational clergymen. Second, there were almost no contributions made by Marylanders in the early period. Finally, amateur historian and the early historical societies did much to collect, preserve,

and encourage the publication of the private papers of many leaders as well as works of local history.

Van Tassel has made an important contribution to the literature of American historiography. By praising the role of the historical society and its emphasis on the growth of American nationalism, he has focused attention on an almost hitherto neglected aspect of American historical writing. The local historian should not overlook this book if he is to study the development of historical studies in the United States and what was published, at least to the time of the appearance of the professional historian in 1884.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

*Maryland Hall of Records*

*The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas with Remarks Historical and Critical on Johnson's Life of Greene.* By HENRY LEE, JR. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 196. xlvii, 511. $10.00.

This volume is a reissue of Henry Lee Jr's defense of his father's (Light Horse Harry Lee's) command in South Carolina under Nathanael Greene. First published in 1824. The author's purpose was to vindicate Lee and to balance the judgement of his actions laid down by William Johnson's far too favorable biography of Nathanael Greene, in which Light Horse Harry is made a scapegoat, particularly for Greene's retreat before Cornwallis in 1781. It was Lee who fought brilliant rear-guard action but whose service was unknown to Greene, and it was Lee who delivered the sound advice to keep Greene in the Carolinas rather than re-engage Cornwallis in Virginia—good reasoning because resistance was needed in the Carolinas in order to keep the revolution alive in that region and to hold the people there in the American camp.

Lee's book has been, since its first publication, an important source in American Revolutionary history. Semi-memoir in content, it was valuable but, unfortunately, until now, rare. Its republication in offset under the *American Classics* series by O. Lawrence Burnette, Jr. constitutes one of several highly worthwhile editions. The editor and publishers are to be commended for the work.

RICHARD WALSH

*Georgetown University*

*Letters of a Civil War Surgeon.* Edited by PAUL FATOUT. West Lafayette, Indiana; Purdue University Studies, 1961. 110. $2.25.

These letters as edited are excellent as the writer is very observant and has the ability to express himself well on paper. His interest in military affairs is outstanding and one can trace his development as a soldier quite easily.

The paragraphs of explanation and notes supplied by the editor are somewhat deficient. This is particularly true as to the geography of Virginia. Other errors are noted as to specific items. One letter has been placed one year out of sequence.

The letters do not add anything to the general knowledge of Civil War events and happenings, but, for a look into the personal life of a participant, this book is recommended.

ROGER S. COHEN, JR.

*Glen Echo Heights, Md.*

*True Tales of The South At War: How Soldiers Fought and Families Lived, 1861-1865.* Collected and Edited by CLARENCE POE. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. xii, 208. $2.95.

Clarence Poe, senior editor and board chairman of The *Progressive Farmer* magazine since 1954, and president and editor for fifty years previous to that time, has collected together in this volume a heartwarming but undocumented group of stories about his beloved South. Of particular interest to Marylanders are the descriptions of Rockville in June, 1863 (p. 12), Berry Benson's exciting escape from Pt. Lookout (p. 39-49), and Henry Rudasill's experiences in a Baltimore hospital (p. 142). It is unfortunate that Dr. Poe chose not to document his selections, for certainly among his readers there will be scholars who will wish to know more about some of the tales, particularly the diary fragments.

C. A. P. H.

# BOOKS RECEIVED

*President James Buchanan, A Biography.* By PHILIP S. KLEIN. University Park; Pennsylvania; The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962 xviii, 506. $7.50.

*The Growth of Southern Civilzation 1790-1860.* By CLEMENT EATON. New York; Harper Brothers, 1961. xvii, 357. $6.

*A Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters 1742-1899.* Volume III. Edited and compiled by LEON DE VALINGER, JR. and VIRGINIA E. SHAW. Dover, Delaware: Published privately by some descendants of the Ridgely Family for the Public Archives Commission, 1961. 396.

*Brewed in America: The History of Beer and Ale in The United States.* By STANLEY BARON. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1962. xiv, 424. $7.50.

*The Fabulous Octogenarian; Life, Love, Labour, Lore, Legend, Language, Laughter of Courtney W. Shropshire, M.D.* By JAMES CHANCELLOR LEONHART. Baltimore; Redwood House Inc., 1962. xxx, 394. $5.75.

*Commander of the Army of the Potomac.* By WARREN W. HASSLER, JR. Baton Rouge; Louisiana State University Press, 1962. xxi, 281. $6.

*The Papers of James Madison. Volume I. 1751-1779.* Edited by WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON AND WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. Chicago; The University of Chicago Press, 1962. xlii, 344. $10.

*Old Homes and History of Montgomery County, Maryland.* By ROGER BROOKE FARQUHAR. Silver Spring, Md.; Published by the author, 1962. x, 366. $15.

*Puritan Protagonist: President Thomas Clap of Yale College.* By LOUIS LEONARD TUCKER. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1962. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg.) xv, 283. $6.

*A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida.* By BERNARD ROMANS. Introduction by REMBERT W. PATRICK. Gainesville; University of Florida Press, 1962. lii, 439. $8.50.

*The Life of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd.* Edited by his daughter, NETTIE MUDD. Saginaw, Mich.: Privately printed by Richard D. Mudd, M.D., 1961, 303. $6.

# NOTES AND QUERIES

COVER PICTURE

Extraordinary appearances in The Heavens, and on Earth.
Aug$^{s}$. 2$^{d}$. 1797

The cover picture of this issue is a watercolor by Benjamin H. Latrobe, illustrating a scene of the 1790's which the artist encountered en route to Richmond. More particularly it describes the occurrence of a natural phenomena, a gigantic rainbow. The artist's explanation follows:

> The appearance of the rainbow was for about 10 minutes nearly like the drawing. The Rays then began to play very much like those of the Aurora borealis. They appeared to be rather occasioned by a luminous perhaps electrical fluid, than by the reflection of the solar light. However the center of the Rainbow was also the center from which they diverged.—
>
> I observed this Rainbow the more particularly, as all the passengers in the stage were obliged to get out, on account of a Waggon which stopped up the road down Churchhill. One of the horses, had fallen down in convulsions & was to all appearance dead. He was dragged from under the pole, but the negroes attempting to throw him into a gulley, one of them laid hold of his tail to pull him away. In a moment however he revived, and trotted up the hill the Negroes still holding fast by his tail, lest he should escape.—

The picture and quotation are taken from the Latrobe Collection in the Maryland Historical Society.

R. W.

---

The State of North Carolina Department of Archives and History announces the publication of a brochure, *North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm: A Checklist . . .*

H. G. Jones, State Archivist
Raleigh, N. C.

---

*Jameson* (of Charles County)—William Jameson, Sr., wife unknown but possible a Miss Mudd, had sons Willie and Thomas who married first a Miss Gardiner and second Sarah Ann Love, daughter of Judge Philip Greenwell Love. Thomas Jameson by his first wife had a daughter, Bena, who married William Sanders; other

children of Thomas Jameson, and by his second wife, were Thomas H. Roseline A. and Josephine A., who married ——— Wurdeman. Also wanted is information as to the marriage of William Jameson, Sr., above, date and place of death of him and his wife (or wives).

Richard D. Mudd, M.D.
1001 Hoyt Street, Saginaw, Mich.

---

*Iams*—I need information regarding names of parents of Richard Iams, born Maryland about 1741-1749, died Greene County, Pa., about 1834-1835; also proof of marriage to Elizabeth Pottenger in Washington County, Md., about 1780. Elizabeth was born in Maryland about 1758, died Green County, Pa., after 1830.

Ervin F. Bickley, Jr.
Sleepy Hollow Road, New Canaan, Conn.

---

*Swift*—I am seeking information as to the ancestry and descendants of Mark Swift and his wife, Elizabeth, who lived in St. George's Parish in Baltimore (now Harford) County 1696. They both died in 1708-1710. Their son, Flower, married Elizabeth Whitaker and they had a son, Thomas, who lived in Frederick County and then moved to Randolph (then Orange) County, N. C., where he died and his will probated in Feb. 1807. What kin was this Swift family to the Dean of St. Patrick's and to the Swifts on the Eastern Shore of Maryland? Flower Swift is said to have started on a voyage to England 1742-1746 and lost at sea with valuable papers. What relation was Thomas Staley or Sealey who was an uncle to Elizabeth, wife of Mark Swift?

*Whitaker*—I am also seeking information as to the ancestry and descendants of Mark Whitaker and his wife, Catherine. They lived in St. George's Parish in Baltimore (now Harford) County when their daughter Elizabeth, was born in 1704. She married Flower Swift. Mark Whitaker remarried after the death of Catherine in 1717. He died in 1729. A Mark Whitaker was clerk of the vestry of St. George's Parish to 1728. What was the maiden name of Catherine, the wife of Mark Whitaker? Was her name Wilson? Were the Whitakers of the Eastern Shore related to these Whitakers?

*Maysey* (*Macy*)—I am seeking information as to the ancestry and descendants of John Maysey who was a resident of Fairfax County, Va. from 1748 until his death in 1760. His wife, Mary, in 1748

was a granddaughter of William Spiller of Prince William County, Va. At his death in 1760, the wife of John Maysey was Lettice. Of the four children: Mary, Robert, Ann and Charles, which wife was the mother of each. Was this family connected with the Masseys of the Eastern Shore, coming up from the eastern peninsula of Virginia? Tunnells were in that area and also in Fairfax County.

E. E. Macy
726 Seventh, Astoria Oregon

---

## CONTRIBUTORS

Mary Jane Dowd is employed in the National Archives. She is a graduate of Johns Hopkins from which she received her Masters in history. This work on the post Revolutionary period was undertaken under the mentorship of Professor Charles Barker of the Johns Hopkins University.

Frederic Shriver Klein is Professor of American History at Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He is the author of *Lancaster County Since 1841, The Spiritual and Educational Background of Franklin and Marshall College,* and numerous articles on state and local history in the Pennsylvania-Maryland area. In addition to teaching college courses in Civil War history, he conducted the "Great Centennial" weekly programs on WBAL-TV during 1960-61, and is Chairman of the Lancaster County Civil War Centennial Committee, and President of the Lancaster County Civil War Round Table. Professor Klein, with his brothers, owns the historic Shriver Homestead at Union Mills, Maryland, along Pipe Creek, and has been endeavoring to preserve the 18th century estate as an historic shrine.

Aubrey C. Land is Professor of History and Chairman of the Department at the University of Maryland. In addition, he is author of many scholarly articles and of the important book, *The Dulanys of Maryland* (1955).

Francis F. Beirne, well known to the readers and members of the Society as editorial writer for the Baltimore Evening Sun, is author of several highly regarded books on American and Maryland history: *The War of 1812* (1949), *The Amiable Baltimoreans* (1951), *Baltimore: A Picture History* (1957), and his latest, *Shout Treason: The Trial of Aaron Burr* (1959).

Lyman H. Butterfield is editor in chief of the Adams Papers.

# MARYLAND
# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

PERIODICALS
RECEIVED
SEP 28 1962
FORT WAYNE & ALLEN COUNTY

Rectory of St. Paul's Parish, 1801. Painting by Thomas Ruckle.
Courtesy, Bendann Art Gallery, Baltimore.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

*September · 1962*

Every head of family wants to assure the future protection of his loved ones. Our TRUST DEPT. will be pleased to discuss this matter with you and your attorney at no cost or obligation.

The ONE bank best for ALL your needs

# 1ST NATIONAL BANK OF MARYLAND

Member Federal Deposit Ins. Corp.

# IN 1902—

when we reached the age of 23

James F. Jeffries defeated Robert Fitzsimmons in championship fight.—*July 25.*

The first woman lawyer was admitted to the Maryland Bar.—*Sept. 24.*

Bronze statues of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and of John Hanson, both contributed by the State, were placed in Statuary Hall in the Capitol of the United States.—*Dec. 4.*

---


**Wherever you move . . . whatever you store . . . call Monumental-Security Storage Company, Baltimore agent for Allied, the World's largest, most trusted Van Line.**

**MOVING local or long distance by skilled personnel experienced in handling everything from household furnishings to priceless works of art.**

**PACKING with our exclusive Kleen-Pack method in custom containers protects even your most fragile possessions in storage and during transportation.**

**STORAGE in Baltimore's most modern concrete and steel warehouse, sprinkler equipped to give you the lowest possible insurance rate and the best possible protection.**

*Your Baltimore Agent for Allied Van Lines*

**Monumental-Security STORAGE CO.**

WINDSOR AVENUE AND MONROE STREET
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

LAfayette 3-2141 LAfayette 3-3771

*"Serving Baltimore and the Nation Since 1879"*

"FRATERNITY FREDDIE" asks:

# "HOW HARD WILL *YOUR* CHILDREN LABOR?"

Give them the advantages of a college education. We're taking no chances—each of our children has a COLLEGE FUND account in FRATERNITY FEDERAL SAVINGS. We start 'em young and let Fraternity's GENEROUS dividends (now compounded QUARTERLY) swell the balance.

We KNOW our money is SAFE—

★ FRATERNITY Savings are insured to

$10,000.00

by a GOVERNMENT AGENCY.

# FRATERNITY

# ★ *Federal*

## SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

764 WASHINGTON BOULEVARD,
Baltimore 3, Maryland

*AND*

BRANCH: Normandy Shopping Center,
Baltimore National Pike (Rt. 40)
Ellicott City, Maryland

★ *SAVE BY MAIL if you like (We pay postage both ways)*
★ *No PARKING PROBLEMS—Ample Free Parking Lots at both offices*
★ *THREE DRIVE-UP WINDOWS at main office*

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 57, NO. 3 SEPTEMBER, 1962

## CONTENTS

PAGE

Samuel Chase and the Annapolis Paper War
*Neil Strawser* 177

Politics of Crisis . . . . . *Dorothy M. Brown* 195

The Rectory of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore
*Howard E. Wooden* 210

The State in the Maryland Economy (cont.)
*Mary Jane Dowd* 229

Sidelights . . . . . 259

The Columbia Manufacturing Company . . *Richard W. Griffin*

Reviews of Recent Books . . . . . 268

Eaton, *The Growth of Southern Civilization,* by George H. Callcott
Hopkins and Hargreaves, eds., *The Papers of Henry Clay,* v. II, by Bernard Mayo
Parker, *Van Meteren's Virginia,* by Ellen Hart Smith
Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse,* by Stuart Bruchey
Rubin, *Canal or Railroad?* by Mary Jane Dowd
Hassler, *Commanders of the Army of the Potomac,* by James Robertson, Jr.
McGee and Lander, eds., *A Rebel Came Home,* by W. Edwin Hemphill
Wallace, *The Parson of the Islands,* by Ellen Hart Smith
Gould, *Early American Wooden Ware,* by C. A. P. H.
Poesch, *Titian Ramsay Peale,* by Eleanor Patterson Spencer
Harlow, *Chanteying Aboard American Ships,* by Richard H. Randall
Kerrison, *Bishop Walsh of Maryknoll,* by Vincent F. Beatty, S. J.

Notes and Queries . . . . . 280

Contributors . . . . . 284

---

*Annual Subscription to the Magazine, $4.00. Each issue $1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.*

Richard Walsh, *Editor*
C. A. Porter Hopkins, *Asst. Editor*

Published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore 1, Md. Second-class postage paid at Baltimore, Md.

*WANTED*

OLD BOOKS
POST CARDS
LETTERS
NEWSPAPERS

Political Campaign Items
Other Early Paper
Americana

**William Sanders**
35 Patapsco Road,
Linthicum Heights, Maryland

*New Publication*

**THE HOLLYDAY AND RELATED FAMILIES**
***of the***
**EASTERN SHORE OF MARYLAND**

The book throws light on agriculture, commerce, politics, Revolutionary sentiment, Tory and nonjuror attitudes among influential families, development of political leaders, and customs and modes of living.

***by***

**James Bordley, Jr., M.D.**

350 pp. $10 plus 20¢ postage.
Md. sales tax additional.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

**PHOTOGRAPHY** *Since 1878*
Copy and Restoration Work a Specialty.
Black and White or Color.
HUGHES CO.
C. Gaither Scott
213 W. Monument Street
MU 5-7566 Baltimore 1

**PHOTOSTATS & PHOTOGRAPHS**
Baltimore Photo & Blue Print Co.
211 E. Baltimore Street
LE 9-6881
★ 35 mm. color or black and white slide duplicates.
Photo copying of Portraits, Old Photographs,
Genealogical Charts, Records, Coats of Arms.

**PLUMBING—HEATING**
M. NELSON BARNES
Established 1909 BE 5-2572 3 West 23rd St.

**BOOKBINDING**
JOSEPH RUZICKA, INC.
Tu. 9—7847 — Tu. 9—5095
3200 Elm Avenue (11)
*Magazines, Books & Records*
*Restoration of rare volumes*

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

Volume 57 SEPTEMBER, 1962 Number 3

## SAMUEL CHASE AND THE ANNAPOLIS PAPER WAR

By Neil Strawser

THE so-called "Paper War" between brash young Samuel Chase and the city government of Annapolis is now scarcely a footnote to the history of pre-Revolutionary Maryland.[1] Fully understood, however, this intemperate, seemingly local warfare by newspaper and handbill [2] becomes the surviving vestige of

[1] Mentioned in early treatments such as John Sanderson, ed., *Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, 9 vols., (Philadelphia, 1824), and John V. L. McMahon, *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland from its Colonization to the Present Day* (Baltimore, 1831), but dropped by later scholars further removed from the background.

[2] The "Paper War" consisted of the following: two publications in *The* (Annapolis) *Maryland Gazette* (hereafter referred to as *Md. Gaz.*), Mar. 13, May 1, 1766, signed by grand jurors but apparently written or inspired by Chase; answers signed by Mayor Walter Dulany and Aldermen Steuart, Brice II, Scott and MacNemara, *ibid.*, Mar. 20, June 9, 1766; two related letters defending the handling of funds from the city lottery, by John Brice II and Daniel Wolstenholme, *ibid.*, May 8, 22, 1766; three brief letters by Samuel Chase, *ibid.*, Mar.

a much broader struggle, and Chase's role in it becomes worthy of mention, at least, on the same page with the great Daniel Dulany.

Dulany has won the plaudits of historians for his *Considerations* attacking the Stamp Act. He put the persuasion of a respectful pen to work in the attack against a rather remote level of authority—with justly celebrated results.[3] Chase, working at shorter range, led the citizens of Annapolis in a three-dimensional attack against *all* authority. To a disrespectful pen he added the power of the mob in a pointblank assault on the authority of the Parliament, the proprietary government of Maryland and the corrupt city government of Annapolis. Since the same men exercised the authority on all three levels, to challenge these men on one level could not help but impugn their personal authority on all. What started out as a movement for civic reform was of significance far beyond the confines of the Annapolis peninsula. For Maryland, Chase's challenge may have been nearly as important as Dulany's in laying the groundwork for revolution. Dulany provided an intellectual rationale; Chase ushered in the outdoor politics[4] of popular contempt which tore down the respect without which no sovereignty can govern.

Reconstruction of all elements of this almost forgotten struggle has been most difficult. Little exists in the way of personal papers to explain motives, and the now musty events pedantically recorded in old Annapolis Corporation records are not always easily explained. But with a minimum of assumption the outlines can be drawn and some details supplied for the story of a daring and successful assault which all but cast off the bonds of a provincial capital a decade before the final declaration in Philadelphia.[5]

28, June 26, July 17, 1766, and a Chase handbill "To Messrs Walter Dulany, *et al.,*" July 18, 1766 (printer unknown), bound in the 1766-1767 volume of *Md. Gaz.*, Maryland State Library, Annapolis, with apparently contemporary notation, "This *not* printed by J. Green," editor of the newspaper.

[3] See the late assessments in Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis; Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1953), and Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland . . .* (Baltimore, 1955).

[4] The author is indebted to Charles Albro Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), for the phrases "politics of protest" and "out of door politics" and for the understanding gained of these concepts as applied to Maryland history.

[5] Annapolis Corporation manuscript records helpful in piecing together the

Chase's role as the Annapolis rebel seems to have begun almost as a prank, and may, like many events in his life, been less than considered. Big, fun-loving, uncouth, unthinking, but strangely sensitive to criticism and quick to anger, Chase lived always by impulse and emotion. His clergyman father was a political conservative, but the son seemed always to gravitate toward the turbulent side of affairs.[6]

Sam Chase was 18 when he arrived in Annapolis in 1759 to study law. By the following year he was being sued by an innkeeper[7] (possibly for room rent), and had been blackballed, for reasons unexplained, by a drinking and debating society known as the Forensic Club.[8] Annapolis society did not readily open its arms to the "Sammy" who used to be sent running to his uncle's store with a couple of pounds in cash to apply to his father's 600 pound debt. It possibly noted that Chase once had to enlist his law teacher to swear out a warrant of *habeas corpus* to save the Reverend Thomas Chase from debtor's prison.[9] Chase's position probably wasn't helped by his 1762 marriage to the beautiful but penniless Anne Baldwin, whose mother had taken up tavern-keeping and whose bankrupt father had died a few months earlier after being sent off to debtor's prison.[10] Still, the fledgling lawyer pushed ahead in a drive for landed respectability, plunging over-heavily in the purchase of backlands and eking out his first meager law

story included: "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," No. 2, 1757-1765, No. 3, 1765-1772; "Annapolis By-Laws and Ordnances," 1768-1791; Annapolis "Ledger H No. 1," 1761-1788, all in the Maryland Hall of Records.

[6] Still one of the best sketches on Chase is the first, in Sanderson, *op. cit.*, IX, 188-235. Edward S. Corwin, "Samuel Chase," *DAB*, IV, 34-37, adds some material from other sources. Other insights on Chase's character are found in Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams*, 10 vols., (Boston, 1850-56), II, 398, 425; Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll (Sr.), Nov. 25, 1777, Carroll MSS, V, 68; Md. His. Soc.; Alexander Contee Harrison to [?], extract, Chase MSS, *ibid.*; "Excerpts from the Papers of Dr. Benjamin Rush," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (1905) XXXIX, 28, and William Sullivan, *The Public Men of the Revolution . . .* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 224n.

[7] "Anne Arundel County Court Judgments," MS, IMB No. 1, p. 40, Maryland Hall of Records.

[8] "Forensic Club Minutes," typescript copy, pp. 7-9, *ibid.*

[9] "Provincial Court Judgments," MS, DD8, p. 40, *Ibid.*

[10] From Charles Willson Peale portrait of Anne Baldwin Chase in Md. Hist. Soc.; "Anne Arundel County Deeds," MS, BB No. 1 pp. 104, 105, 121, 122, 231, Md. Hall of Records; "Anne Arundel County Court Judgments," *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 199, 200, 216; "Testamentary Papers," MS, Box 65, Folder 10, Md. Hall of Records.

fees by making a business of defending the usually undefended debtors.[11]

Sam Chase remained extremely sensitive to snubs regarding his position in life (and notably was outraged when the city leaders picked on his finances during the Paper War).[12] There were many dents in his ego during those early years. The young bloods of Annapolis, having finally admitted Chase to their Forensic Club, expelled him "for ever" in a few months for "having behaved himself extremely irregular and indecent and having at sundry Times uttered false and scandalous aspersions relative to the Club & maliciously and un-mannerly reflected upon the Members . . ."[13] On the professional side, the Mayor and Aldermen unsuccessfully offered the post of Mayor's Court Prosecutor to the other two students at the bar before giving it to Chase. On the business side, Alderman John Brice once thought himself important enough to push ahead of the newcomer at the provincial land office.[14] Chase, who was later called a great "cart horse"[15] seems to have resisted and won the tussling match. Neither man forgot it.

Whatever the triggering incident, young Chase soon appears in a madcap episode that seems to have opened the skirmish with the city government. Internal evidence would seem to date the episode in the early 1760's; both accounts are inexact and at least partially apocryphal. The accounts[16] would have us believe that a group of high-spirited young law students stood in the State House one day perusing a portrait of Queen Anne, and that they were actually able to read the Annapolis Charter she held in her hand. The Charter had been granted in 1708, during her reign. The students were

[11] A study of Chase's land operations, his law practice, and an estimate of his income will be found in the author's unpublished M.A. thesis, "The Early Life of Samuel Chase" (The George Washington University, 1958).

[12] *Md. Gaz.*, June 19, 1766; Chase handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766.

[13] "Forensic Club Minutes," *loc. cit.*, pp. 17, 38, 39.

[14] Chase handbill, *op. cit.*

[15] Henri Joseph Stier to ——, Nov. 23, 1797, William D. Hoyt, Jr., ed. and trans., "The Calvert-Stier Correspondence; Letters from America to the Low Countries, 1797-1828," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVIII, 126, 127.

[16] Rebecca Campbell Key, "A Notice of Some of the First Buildings with Notes of Some of the Early Residents," edited by Annie Leakin Sioussat, *ibid.*, XIV, 263, 264; Elihu S. Riley, *A History of Anne Arundel County, in Maryland* (Annapolis, 1905). p. 74.

Chase, Thomas Jennings, who had also been blackballed by the Forensic Club [17] and possibly one of the Brices (perhaps John Jr., who did not follow his father's conservative path).[18] They discovered the charter "violated in almost every particular," cleaned off the painting and buried a copy of the charter in a coffin at its foot. The word was passed, a crowd gathered, and amid much mirth, the supposedly lost charter rights were exhumed and rediscovered.

The claims of ignorance of the charter provisions would seem far-fetched but for similar circumstances involving the city by-laws. The original charter was passed on from Mayor to Mayor and presumably guarded at least as closely as the by-laws. The by-laws existed in such secrecy they weren't even collected together for some years, and in 1763 the corporation had to order a special copy made for the gate-keeper who couldn't do his duty because of his ignorance of the laws.[19]

The claims that the charter provisions had been broken in almost every particular do not stand up when the provisions [20] are compared to the recorded proceedings of the corporation. The provisions seem to have been more bent than broken. There were times when the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen, sitting as election judges, construed most narrowly the charter provisions for the election of the Common Council.[12] It was from the directly elected council that aldermen filled up their own number, and from their ranks came the mayor. At times the Aldermen voted with the Common Council on by-laws,[22] though barred by the charter. And the city fathers dragged their feet on a one-month provision for filling vacancies.[23]

Still, it was often the custom not the constitution that was violated, and in any case the main complaints revolved around sim-

[17] "Forensic Club Minutes," *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

[18] The younger Brice, for instance, later became a member of the Annapolis committee for the association against imports from Great Britain, *Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 9, 1770.

[19] "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 137, 230; *Md. Gaz.*, June 19, 1766.

[20] Charter is reprinted in Elihu S. Riley, *"The Ancient City;" a History of Annapolis in Maryland, 1649-1887* (Annapolis, 1887), pp. 85-94.

[21] "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 140, 251-253.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 228.

[23] *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 13, 1766.

ple inaction, not overt violation. The town fence was falling down; the harbor was filling up; the streets were badly rutted; an Alderman's house blocked a street. Remonstrances from grand juries of 1759, 1760 and 1761 complained bitterly of the disrepair, and also of over-regulation and failure to publicize the by-laws. The corporation failed to call a grand jury in 1762 and 1764, and the court hastened to adjourn in 1763 before the jury could present another remonstrance.[24] These were the complaints to which Chase and his prankish colleagues apparently sought to give the coloration of a fight for ancient charter rights. To an extent they seem to have succeeded in dramatizing what was essentially a civic protest against a regime which had grown lazy and careless, if not downright abusive, in carrying out the responsibilities of representative government laid down in the 1708 charter.

Annapolis had long been run almost as a rotten borough for the Proprietary.[25] The top officials in the Maryland government of the Lords Baltimore [26] were also the top officials of Annapolis. The Annapolis recorder at the height of the quarrel was Daniel Dulany, Deputy Secretary of the province. Daniel's brother, Walter Dulany, was mayor and also Naval Officer of Patuxent. Among the Aldermen were: Dr. George Steuart, a judge of the Land Office and Proprietary party wheel horse [27] in the lower house until 1764; Upton Scott, clerk of the Governor's Council and of the upper house, Examiner-General and Comptroller of North Potomac; John Ross, relative of the Lords Proprietors, former Clerk of Council and Naval Officer; Michael MacNemara, clerk of lower house; John Brice II, Chief Justice of the Provincial Court, Clerk of Anne Arundel County, and Benjamin Tasker, Sr.;

[24] *Ibid.,* Mar. 13, May 1, June 19, 1766; "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," No. 2, pp. 195, 224, 230. The earlier remonstrances were disclosed, not in the corporation minutes, but in the exchange of letters in *Md. Gaz.*

[25] Riley, *The Ancient City,* pp. 119, 120; Land, *op. cit.,* pp. 187, 188; Peale's unpublished autobiography, quoted in Horace Wells Sellers, "Charles Willson Peale, Artist-Solider," *Pa. Mag.,* XXXVIII, 261.

[26] The proprietary offices held by the men cited in this paragraph were obtained from the excellent compendium by Donald M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage, Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1953).

[27] *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883—), LIX, lxi.

Surveyor and Searcher of Annapolis, President of the Governor's Council and father-in-law of Daniel Dulany.[28]

The provincial offices of profit were extremely lucrative. They were the cement which held together a considerable so-called Court party in the General Assembly. For years, a Country party of hardly less well-to-do landed squires had been challenging the Court party in the lower house. It was a struggle given to resounding invocations of ancient rights and freedoms over what appeared at times to be questions of prerogative rather than political democracy.[29] The Annapolis struggle for local reform inevitably carried over into the Court party-Country party struggles, with the difference being that the challengers in Annapolis were not landed squires for the most part, but small tradesmen and shop-keepers.[30]

The reformers marked up their first discernible progress in October 1764 when two of the small tradesmen, ship carpenter [31] Samuel Middleton and cordwainer [32] Allen Quynn, won election to the Comon Council.[33] In November, Chase himself stepped out to take on Dr. George Steuart in a fight for one of the Annapolis seats in the General Assembly. Chase seems to have capitalized on a temporary split in Court party ranks. He had the backing not only of Charles Carroll, Barrister, an Annapolis Country party leader,[34] but of Walter Dulany, who was running also for the assembly. Dulany joined Chase in a bitter campaign against proprietary office holders serving in the Lower House. "The Motto of our flag, and the general Voice was NO PLACEMAN . . ." said Chase.[35]

Provincial and local issues were intertwined. During the

[28] Land, *op. cit.*, 52, 192.

[29] Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 182, 374-376; Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1901), pp. 213-215, 356-383.

[30] Occupations of Chase associates in struggle identified from references in *Md. Gaz.* and other records. Chase's identification with tradesmen at this time is confirmed by Peale, Sellers, "Charles Willson Peale, Artist-Soldier," p. 262; his life-long identification with the "middling class of men" is alleged by "Mechanic" in *The* (Baltimore) *Maryland Gazette or, The Baltimore Advertiser,* Sept. 21, 1787.

[31] "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc cit.*, No. 3, p. 74.

[32] *Ibid.*, No. 2, p, 291.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

[34] Sellers, "Charles Willson Peale, Artist-Soldier," pp. 261, 262; W. Stull Holt, "Charles Carroll, Barrister: the Man," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXI, 112-116.

[35] Chase handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766.

short campaign,[36] friends of Chase paraded through the streets bearing banners proclaiming the issue as the freedom of tradesmen. Charles Willson Peale, who supported Chase, wrote that "At this hard-contested election every engine was employed that each party could apply. The court dependents of office were threatened to be put out if they voted for Chase."[37] In Peale's memory, the proprietary had always been in the ascendancy until the November 26 balloting. The voting went on until evening, and at the end, the Proprietor's wheel horse in the lower house was retired. Dulany collected 132 votes, Chase 88 and Steuart 59.[38]

The "middling class of men,"[39] the small merchants, had discovered their power at the polls. They put up Isaac Harris and John Campbell, a grocer and a tailor,[40] for Common Council vacancies in February of 1765, and went so far as to challenge the Mayor's Court interpretation of the property qualifications set by the charter. The incident seems to have been a followup to the State-House portrait affair (it was the daughter of the tailor involved, who remembered the tale)[41] and apparently was aimed at calling the members of the court to public account under terms of the charter. The challenge—that no definite size of freehold was set—seems moot since the grocer and tailor won election under the whole-lot qualifications stated by the court. But it does seem to have put the court on record for the first time as to just what the qualifi-

[36] The writs were issued Nov. 13 and the election held Nov. 26, 1766. *Archives of Maryland,* LIX, xvii; *Md. Gaz.,* Nov. 29, 1764.

[37] Unpublished autobiography, Seller, *op. cit.,* pp. 261, 262.

[38] *Md. Gaz.,* Nov. 29, 1764. Court party figures retaliated against Peale's support of Chase by calling in several loans. Chase secured a writ of *Habeas Corpus* to free Peale from jail, but the whole incident is said to have persuaded Peale to turn from his pursuit of jack-of-all-trades to painting for a career. "Provincial Court Judgments," DD 11, pp. 326-335; Sellers, *op. cit.,* p. 262.

[39] *The* (Baltimore) *Maryland Gazette or, the Baltimore Advertiser,* Sept. 21, 1787.

[40] Harris appears to be a grocer by "Ledger H, No. 1," *op. cit.,* p. 8; Campbell is identified as a tailor in "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *op. cit.,* No. 3, p. 8.

[41] Rebecca Campbell Key, "A Notice of Some of the First Buildings . . .," *loc. cit.,* p. 264, said her father was one of the first chosen alderman at the conclusion of the long quarrel set in motion by the prank in the State House. She may have been speaking of the council election, though the quarrel still had a year or more to run. The city records do not extend to the election of Campbell as an alderman.

cations were. Even the judges admitted there had been confusion in the past.[42]

The city fathers of Annapolis could no longer ignore the clamor for reform. They were answering the reforms with a strong dose of their own medicine. After two years of inactivity, the city suddenly cracked down on store and inn-keepers who sold strong drink to servants, in violation of the by-laws. Unsuspecting merchants even discovered that one section of the law seemed to bar sales to some of the poorer classes of freemen. Three or four servants were involved in most of the charges, indicating a possible "plant."[43]

The city leadership later blamed the zeal of the prosecutor, Chase himself, but Chase's reaction and the outrage of his tradesmen compatriots seems to indicate that he had little choice but to present the charges, and the merchants on the grand jury no choice but to return the indictments.[44] The January 1765 Grand Jury indicted 39 persons on nearly 400 counts, and a second jury handed down another large batch in April.[45]

The crackdown was impartial enough. The accused included William Reynolds, who kept the tavern where the court met,[46] Lancelot Jacques, Councilman and Court party member, and Agnes Baldwin, the mother-in-law of the prosecutor. The petit juries and the prosecution seemed less than enthusiastic. Reynolds was acquitted; Jacques was fined 40 shillings for one count of selling in spite of a not guilty plea; Mrs. Baldwin, now an ordinary keeper, was not so strangely acquitted of similar charges after Chase disdained such a nicety as stepping aside.[47] There were many other acquittals. A poor house-

[42] "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 250-253.

[43] Indictments and trials in "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 246-248, 253-351; No. 3, pp. 1-54.

[44] From the exchange in the "Paper War," cited in footnote 2.

[45] "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 246-248; No. 3, pp. 33, 34.

[46] Payments to Reynolds are recorded in Annapolis "Ledger H No. 1," *loc. cit.*, p. 5. The January grand jury did so much business it needed a "quire" of paper, which Reynolds furnished at a cost of one shilling.

[47] "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 246-248, 346; No. 3, pp. 30, 31, 43-45. Mrs. Baldwin took out a license to keep an ordinary in June, 1761, before her husband was sent off to debtors' prison. He died shortly thereafter. She renewed the license periodically, the last time with Chase as a security

painter ended up in the hands of the sheriff,[48] but Chase associates furnished securities for many of the others who were convicted. Chase himself advanced the security for one man.[49]

The townspeople were working up to a charge of deception by the city fathers, but the outside world intruded. The passage of the Stamp Act took center stage for the remainder of the spring and summer.[8] Annapolitans turned their newfound power of protest on Zachariah Hood, the newly appointed stamp collector for Maryland who arrived in August. With Chase in the van,[50] outdoor politics arrived in Maryland along with the stamp collector. A mob tried to prevent Hood's landing. A few days later another mob burned Hood in effigy. Still another pulled down a house on which Hood had taken a lease. The would-be stamp collector wisely fled northward.[31]

The city officials, said Chase, skulked in their houses while he and the mob repelled Hood.[52] Those conservatives shunned such popular demonstrations, but there was, in truth, no basic disagreement between the factions on opposition to the Stamp Act. Even proprietary officials saw it as an interference with His Lordship's prerogatives and revenues, and opposed it secretly if not openly.[53] But officialdom was alarmed at the appeal to the prejudices of the people.[54] The conservatives preferred to depend on the passive resort to homespun and manufactures and the appeal to reason advanced by the pen of

for the maintenance of peace and order in her house. "Anne Arundel County Court Judgments," *loc. cit.*, IMB No. 1, pp. 165, 216, 569, 815; "Testamentary Papers," *loc. cit.*, Box 65, Folder 10.

[48] "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 257-271.

[49] Annapolis "Ledger H No. 1," *loc. cit.*, p. 12.

[50] By charge of the city officials, *Md. Gaz.*, June 19, 1766, and Chase's own admission, handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766, of connection with at least the second affair.

[51] The Hood affair is related with interesting variations in David Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis* ('Baltimore, 1841), p. 137; *Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 22, 29, 1765; Gov. Horatio Sharpe to the Earl of Halifax, Sept. 5, 1765, to Gen. Gage, Sept. 6, 23, 1765, to Lord Baltimore, Sept. 10, 1765, to Cecilius Calvert, Oct. 2, 1765, *The Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe*, 3 vols. *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 221-231.

[52] Chase handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766.

[53] Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, July 11, 1765, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 211; Hugh Hamersley to Sharpe, Feb. 25, Mar. 22, 1766, *ibid.*, pp. 274, 284; *ibid.*, LIX, x; Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 302; Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Mr. Jenings, Nov. 23, 1765, Carroll "Letterbook, 1765-1768," MS, Md. Hist. Soc.

[54] See Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer to Robert and James Christie, Feb. 21, 1766, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVI (Sept. 1961) p. 294.

Daniel Dulany, whose *Considerations* came off the press in October.[55]

The split between Dulany traditionalists and the Chase activists was further widened that fall by the outbreak of a personal feud that affected the course of Maryland history for the next 20 years.[56] Daniel's brother Walter had accepted the position as Naval Officer (port collector) since his election to the assembly, which finally met late in September. The lower house promptly turned the "no placemen" slogan on Walter and ordered a new election in Annapolis, to give the voters a chance to express their opinions. Chase, true to his campaign slogan, voted with the majority for the new election, and campaigned against his one-time political ally. Dulany, as mayor, sat as his own election judge during the voice voting October 5 and was declared re-elected. The Annapolis residents carried a protest to the lower house, which again refused to seat Dulany and ordered another election. This time the good Mayor withdrew altogether and on December 4, the citizens unanimously elected John Hall, Chase's former law-teacher and a moderate Country party sympathizer. The Proprietary thus lost both seats from Annapolis in less than 13 months.[57]

The Stamp Act, meanwhile, took effect November 1. With no stamps and no stamp collector, the courts, land offices and ports ceased operations, and *The Maryland Gazette* fell silent. But before the month was out, Sam Chase was helping to reopen the county court in Frederick County. By the new year some other courts and outlying ports were following suit, resuming business without stamped legal paper. The newspaper

[55] Land. *op. cit.*, pp. 259-265.

[56] Walter Dulany died in 1773, Owings, *op. cit.*, p. 132, but Daniel and Chase carried on the feud. Other incidents, some only to be guessed at, seemed necessary to make the feeling so bitter. The elder Charles Carroll and others felt Chase pushed some of his most repressive measures during the Revolution solely out of hatred for Dulany. Charles Carroll to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Nov. 7, 18, 1777, Carroll MSS, *loc. cit.*, V, 55, 64.

[57] *Archives of Maryland*, LIX, 20, 21, 135, 136, 144, 151-153; "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 3, pp. 60, 68; Chase handbill *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766. Sanderson, *op. cit.*, IX, 232, identifies Hall as a Chase teacher. Hall's sympathies established by study of his votes in the lower house, author's unpublished thesis, Daniel Dulany had the good grace to absent himself during Walter's reelection, and resigned as Recorder a month later before Hall's succession. "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *op. cit.*, No. 3, p. 67.

began reappearing.[58] By February, the forward Baltimore Sons of Liberty were asking Chase and his friend William Paca to help organize a drive on the provincial offices in the capital itself.[59]

Chase and Paca called a meeting of the citizens on the capitol grounds on February 26, 1766. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, not yet in sympathy with revolution, said there were some unguarded statements but cooler heads prevailed. But at the end of the week, some Baltimore Sons of Liberty reinforced the local incendiaries and they marched on the public offices to determine why they could not be opened for business immediately.[60] Thus the protest took on the third dimension. The proprietary officials here trying to uphold the Parliamentary directive against operations without stamps were, in other guises, the late recorder and two of the aldermen of Annapolis. Deputy Secretary Daniel Dulany, Chief Justice Brice of the Provincial Court, and Judge George Steuart of the Land Office gave the equivocal replies to the Sons. Again moderation prevailed and the deadline for the opening was put off until the end of the month. On April first, Chase and the Sons of Liberty returned and forced the officials to give in to the out of doors pressure.[61] Four days later the first premature word of the repeal of the Stamp Act came to Maryland; soon Daniel Dulany was circulating a charge that the "intemperate" proceedings in Maryland had embarrassed the efforts of London merchants to have the act repealed.[62]

The embattled Annapolis burghers needed all the ammunition they could find, for they were now locked in the climactic paper war with Chase and his cohorts. The struggle began early in March, between the assaults on the provincial offices.

[58] Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 309; "Frederick County Court Judgments" and "Minutes," MS, microfilm roll 258, November 1765 court, Md. Hall of Records; *Md. Gaz.* "*Reviving,*" Jan. 30, 1766.

[59] Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Daniel Barrington, Mar. 17, 1766, Thomas Meagher Field, ed., *The Unpublished Letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and of His Father, Charles Carroll of Doughoregan* (New York, 1902), p. 112.

[60] The main accounts of the series of Sons of Liberty meetings are found in *ibid.*, pp. 112-113, and *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 6, 1766, with editor Green much more enthusiastic than Charles Carroll.

[61] *Md. Gaz.*, April 3, 1766; Chase handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766.

[62] *Md. Gaz.*, April 10, May 15, 1766.

Resentment over the high-handed tactics of the city government finally boiled over, especially when the Mayor's Court again adjourned before the grand jury could present a formal remonstrance.[63]

By his own admission, it was His Lordship's own prosecutor Sam Chase, who was in the jury rooms at Reynolds' Tavern, helping compose the jurors' complaints when the court adjourned. Chase admitted writing the greater part of the remonstrance,[64] and the unmistakable style makes it plain that the same "ill Adviser," as the aldermen called him, also wrote the second juror's letter.

A week after the adjournment the thwarted grand jurors found space in *The Maryland Gazette* for their complaints.[65] They complained of many things: of laxity, absenteeism and delay in filling vacancies on the Mayor's Court Bench, of misuse of city funds raised by lottery, of by-laws not made known to the populace, and of the severity of certain laws, especially of the one relating to the sale of rum to servants and certain freemen. The latter, they said, is "greatly Prejudicial to the Happiness and Prosperity of the Inhabitants of the City, and if duly Executed will greatly discourage TRADESMEN and MERCHANTS from Settling here . . ." [66]

Mayor Walter Dulany, and Aldermen Michael MacNemara, George Steuart, John Brice II and Upton Scott commandeered the front page of the suceeding March 20 issue of the *Gazette* for a haughty reply to the late grand jurors "misled by the Influence of an *ill Advisor.*" Chase audaciously admitted his role in a brief letter in the March 27 *Gazette,* making it all the more galling, perhaps, when four days later he and the Sons of Liberty went calling on two of his targets in their other capacities to force the opening of the provincial offices. Chase promised an early reply from the grand jurors, but

[63] *Ibid.,* Mar. 13, 1766.
[64] *Ibid.,* Mar. 27, 1766.
[65] The remonstrance was submitted by foreman Colin Campbell on behalf of the grand jury. The other members, not named in the publication, were Allen Quynn, William Knapp, William Wilkins, James Dixon, Henry Caton, Joshua Frazier, Sanders Baldwin, Andrew Buchanan, Robert Reynolds, Henry Wilkins, John Campbell and Thomas Hyde. "Annapolis Corporation minutes," *loc. cit.,* No. 3, p. 69.
[66] *Md. Gaz.,* Mar. 13, 1766.

one Reverdy Ghiselin, a court party sycophant and clerk to Daniel Dulany, relayed threats of a libel suit to editor Jonas Green. Not until May first did the grand jurors—now reduced to eight [67]—raise the money to indemnify Green [68] and so fire the second round of their barrage.

In the May first letter the jurors retreated from some obvious over-statements, but held to the attack. Their charges for the most part kept the city fathers on the defensive in their own lengthy reply of June 19. But on one score, the rage of the mayor and aldermen could no longer be contained. They lashed out at the man they believed at the bottom of their problems, and in their bitterness, made the prosecutor of the Mayor's Court perhaps the only man in Maryland singled out for public criticism for resisting the Stamp Act.

The letter of June 19 grimly attacked a "restless turbulent Demagogue, who seeks to render himself Important in the Eyes of his weak deluded votaries," who clamors for good government "at the very Instant that he is acting the Part of an Incendiary, by endeavouring to propagate Confusion, and to sacrifice all Order and Authority to his factious Views and ambitious Schemes of Power . . ." [69]

From the degree of upset, it would seem the Annapolis elders well understood that the popular assault on the provincial offices posed something far more dangerous than a mere challenge to the Stamp Act. In the final paragraph, their exasperation led them into a whole string of italics aimed at Chase: "*a busy restless Incendiary—a foul-mouth'd and inflaming Son of Discord and Faction—a common Disturber of the public Tranquility . . .*" Besides that, they charged that he was ungrateful to them, and they sought to show by a statement taken grossly out of context [70] that Chase had once supported the Stamp Act.

Editor Green now put his foot down and refused to take the risk of printing Chase's reply. In mid-July the accused

[67] Only Allen Quynn, John Campbell, Joshua Frazier, Robert Reynolds, William Wilkins, Henry Caton, Sanders Baldwin and Henry Wilkins signed the second publication, *Md. Gaz.*, May 1, 1766.

[68] Jonas Green, *ibid.*

[69] Signed by "Walter Dulany, M. Macnemara, Geo. Steuart, John Brice, U. Scott," *ibid.*, June 19, 1766.

[70] As Chase easily proved in his handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766.

prosecutor announced that his answer could be seen in manuscript and would shortly be available in handbills, obviously printed elsewhere.[71] It proved to be a diatribe with an outspokenness unusual even for that era of abusive political hyperbole. The city fathers had never quite dropped the cloak of innuendo. Chase boldly named his targets. Steuart "*crept into the Province from a Foreign Dunghill* . . . and by *Cringing*, and *Fawning*, and *Pimping*, and *Lying*, sneak'd into Proprietary Notice . . ." Brice had a "Passion for Wealth." Scott was a "wretched Dependant." Walter Dulany seemed guilty of little more than a "*revengeful Temper*," but the dissolute MacNemara was guilty of a "continued Round of *Vice, and Folly, Drunkenness and Debauchery*," of deserting his hungry children for "the Harlots Embraces . . ." Collectively, he described the members of the Mayor's Court as "despicable Pimps, and Tools of Power, emerged from Obscurity, and basking in proprietary Sun shine . . ." [72]

Michael MacNemara was indeed tumbling downhill to disgrace, debtors' prison and an early death.[73] Chase himself defended him in a debt suit the next May,[74] but the merciless truth of such an attack may as much as anything have deprived the good burghers of any further taste for battle. Apprised of the lengths to which young Chase could go, they suddenly deserted the public prints. They neither answered, nor sued for libel, nor even demanded that Chase resign as prosecutor. The Court followers retreated to their own aldermanic castle, there to hold out as long as possible behind the ramparts of virtual life tenures.[75]

Chase's handbill thus became the final volley in the Annapolis Paper War. The retreat, however, had actually been underway since five days after the first missive, the juror's remonstrance of March 13. The city fathers then had parti-

[71] *Md. Gaz.*, July 17, 1766.

[72] Chase handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766.

[73] Charles Carroll of Carrollton to the Countess of Auzouer, Sept. 20, 1771, J. G. D. Paul, "A Lost Copy-Book of Charles Carroll of Carrollton," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXII, 204.

[74] "Provincial Court Judgments," *loc. cit.*, DD12, p. 513.

[75] The City officials had to requalify themselves when a new sovereign began his rule—normally a formality—otherwise only decease or removal from the area could end their terms. Riley, *The Ancient City*.

ally admitted charges of laxity and non-attendance to duties by hastening to bestow the vacant post of recorder on a dying man.[76]

The retreat continued in April when the Mayor's Court obviated its own later argument against the right of remonstrance by entering in the minutes for the first time the remonstrance submitted by the succeeding grand jury.[77]

In May, the rich and powerful Benjamin Tasker gave further credence to the non-attendance charge by resigning as alderman, admitting he hadn't even bothered to qualify for the office in recent years. The aldermen were able to reach into the Common Council for a Lancelot Jacques to replace Tasker, but Chase's friend William Paca won the election for the resulting council vacancy. And the post of recorder, vacated again by death, was this time surrendered to John Hall of the Country party.[78]

In July, Nicholas Maccubin, a councilman charged with non-attendance, also resigned. So did Thomas Hyde, a late grand juror who had not signed the second letter. The Country party suffered a temporary setback when Lloyd Dulany, son of Daniel won election to one of the vacancies.[79] But then came the Chase handbill to virtually sweep the field.

In August, the one-time stalwart, Dr. George Steuart, thought it best to set off for a visit to England. In September, death further reduced the number within the ramparts by taking John Brice II and John Ross, another conservative alderman.[80] The remaining members of the Mayor's Court had enough spunk left to select two more conservatives from the Common Council to fill the vacancies, and unanimously to elect Upton Scott from their ranks to the post of mayor.[81] But they were fast running out of reinforcements.

[76] *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 20, 1766. Edmund Key, the new recorder, was in the last stages of consumption, and died six weeks later. Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Edmund Jennings, May 29, 1766, Field, *op. cit.*, p. 120; *Md. Gaz.*, May 8, 1766.

[77] "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 3, pp. 117-119.

[78] *Ibid.*, pp. 167-169. On Paca's friendship, see "Excerpts from the Papers of Dr. Benjamin Rush," *Pa. Mag.*, XXIX, 28.

[77] Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 3, pp. 117-119.

[80] *Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 28, Sept. 25, 1766.

[81] "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 3, p. 172. The new aldermen, Jonas Green and William Roberts, were perhaps not the staunchest supporters of the Court party. Green, though an old friend of the Dulanys, seemed

In a last forlorn sally, the members of the court, sitting as judges at the poll, sought to block the inevitable in the ensuing council election on October 4, 1766. Sam Chase, John Bullen and John Brice Jr. sought the two seats. The court for the first time in years demanded to see the qualifications of the candidates, and actually threw out a deed professing a freehold qualification produced by Chase either on behalf of himself or of Bullen. What happened next remains a mystery, for the minutes jump directly to the statement that "At the Closing of the Poll a Majority of legal votes appearing in Favour of Messrs. Samuel Chase & John Bullen they were accordingly duly elected as Common Council Men . . ." [82] It is interesting to note that Chase at this time seems to have owned no freehold within the confines of Annapolis, though he could have qualified under an alternate provision requiring only a visible estate of 20 pounds.[83]

The election of Chase and Bullen completed the encirclement and bypassing of the entrenched aldermen. After three years of struggle and attrition, the election finally gave Chase and his party of small tradesmen the majority on the Common Council.[84] It marked the final turning point in city affairs. The Mayor, Recorder and Common Council made the bylaws. The aldermen could take no part, according to the charter unearthed by Chase in that childish prank.

The new majority began remaking the laws in less than two weeks' time, but it took nearly two years to complete the task. Chase and his party dropped the clause forbidding the selling of rum to certain of the poorer freemen. But the provision against selling to servants was retained as was a bylaw giving justices of the peace summary powers to order fractious ser-

to side with the radicals on the Stamp Act, and expressed some pique at being passed over for alderman earlier. *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 6, April 3, May 22, 1766, Nov. 10, 1768. Roberts clearly had no connection with the radicals, but did not vote down the line with the conservatives in his two recorded votes as a councilman. "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *op. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 222, 223, 228.

[82] *Ibid.*, No. 3, p. 173.

[83] Charter, Riley, *The Ancient City*.

[84] Chase, Paca, Quynn and Campbell, presumably joined by Middleton, Harris and Bullen, would give the small tradesmen a solid majority on the ten-man Council. Hall, as recorder, would presumably balance the vote of Mayor Upton Scott.

vants off to the whipping block. A new bylaw was added which set up a system for licensing ordinaries and taverns and regulating their prices. The new regime otherwise dropped a tax on female dogs, doubled the fine for non-attendance at Mayor's Court, and voted a 12-pound annual salary for the prosecutor.[85]

Reform did not seem spectacular. The late grand jurors had complained of ignorance of the bylaws by the citizenry. The new set was not finally proclaimed by the sheriff until 1768, nearly two years after some were adopted. Though the reform government paid the clerk 3 pounds, 4 shillings, 8 pence for copying the bylaws for the "Press," they were apparently never printed.[86]

Reform did not prevent a rash of house-breakings which shortly required a new law setting up night watches. It did not prevent gambling. The Mayor's Court continued to sit erratically. The harbor continued to silt up, the falling water table more than a match for whatever dredging was financed by a new lottery staged by the reformers.[87]

Still the citizenry seemed more satisfied. Jonas Green's paper records no more complaints of the sort printed in that vital year of 1766, so it cannot be fairly said that the only result was change for change's sake. It would be a mistake in any case to dismiss the Annapolis civic protest as a mere exchange of the "ins" for the "outs." Chase and his party had joined popular force to the politics of protest. With a scathing and significantly unpunished contempt for authority, they had defeated not only the mayor and aldermen of Annapolis, but had shaken their pretense to govern in other areas. The example surely loosened the bonds finally sundered a decade later.

[85] "Annapolis By-laws, 1768-1788," *loc. cit.*, pp. 2-44.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 44; "Ledger H No. 1," *loc. cit.*, p. 17.
[87] "Annapolis By-laws, 1768-1788," *loc. cit.*, pp. 45-47; Michael Earle to Thomas Ringgold, Oct. 15, 1773, Henry Hollyday MSS, Md. Hist. Soc. The Council had to pass a by-law reviving the court when it failed to meet according to adjournment at one point. "Annapolis By-laws, 1768-1788," *loc. cit.*, p. 52. The lottery efforts are related in *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 25, May 21, July 9, Sept. 10, Oct. 1, 1772.

# POLITICS OF CRISIS: THE MARYLAND ELECTIONS OF 1788-89

By Dorothy M. Brown

FEW political struggles have been so crucial as the Autumn and Winter elections of 1788-89 in Maryland. Viewed by contemporaries as no less an Aramageddon than the tough and bitter battles for the ratification of the Constitution, these campaigns in the Free State significantly quickened the development of political techniques and parties. To the victors in the contest would fall the control of the State together with seats in the new national Congress whose incumbents would implement, fashion and interpret the new federal instrument of government. With such at stake, the Federalists and Anti-Federalists wheeled up their most potent and effective political weapons. Old antagonists in the paper money and Constitutional hustings girded for the contests that would finally end their sparring and forge a hopeful beginning in the new nation.

To the Federalists the issues in these local and national elections were clear-cut. The voter had the simple alternative of voting for order (the Constitution) or chaos (the amendments of the Anti-Federalists). He could select men of probity, godliness, and responsibility or choose profligates, malcontents and anarchists. At stake were the stability and survival of the nation. An Anti-Federalist victory would deliver the country into the hands of the minions of Satan. Even General Washington, a moderate man, warned neighboring Federalists in Maryland of secret and insidious Anti-Federalist plots and machinations. Writing to James McHenry, he anxiously noted: "It is whispered here that some leading characters among you have by no means dropped their resentment to the new Constitution but have determined on some secret plan to suspend the

proper organization of the government or to defeat it altogether." [1] Echoing this admonition, a Free State observer summarized the Federalist position and added a warning:

> The new Government, like a Musical Instrument, well tuned and skilfully struck by men of distinguished abilities, known integrity, and firm attachment, will produce perfect harmony—But played on by men confessedly unskilled, unprincipled, and inimical to it, will produce harsh discord, perpetual jars, and dire confusion which heaven forbid! [2]

To the Anti-Federalists, on the other hand, the issues were black and white in reverse order. In their view the Constitution was a gilded trap to ensnare the unsuspecting.[3] It was a conspiracy of the rich and power-hungry to overawe the common man and to foist on him a government reminiscent of British tyranny. To vote for the Federalists was to vote for the loss of individual rights and liberties.

National destruction or political suicide were the grim and unappetizing alternatives apparently offered to national and Free State voters in 1788-89. A vote for the Federalists would lead to order and the tyranny of the wealthy while a vote for the Antis was a ballot for freedom and the ruin of the country by the Federalists. In such an impasse, the political campaigns and elections promised to be lively.

In chronology and in turbulence the first clash of the factions and issues in the Free State came in the fight for control of the Maryland House of Delegates. Though the State legislature had obviously lost some of its stature in the shadow of the new national Congress, this election would give an unmistakable indication of the political climate in the Free State. A victory by either faction would herald probable success in the Maryland Congressional and Presidential campaigns.

Particularly hard fought was the struggle for Baltimore city's two seats. Here the redoubtable paper money champion Samuel Chase attempted with fellow lawyer David McMechen to capture the Federalist-dominated town for the Antis' cause.

[1] George Washington to James McHenry, July 31, 1788 cited in John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-99* (Washington, 1937), XXX, 28-29.

[2] *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser,* July 11, 1788.

[3] *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,* June 13, 1788.

Accepting their challenge, and pitting doctors against lawyers, the local Federalists named physicians James McHenry and John Coulter as their champions. The campaign would center on class and constitutional issues. For, faced by two candidates of respectability and means, the local Antis, like their national counterparts, worked tirelessly to identify the Federalists as the wealthy enemy of the common man.

The most serious and insistent of a barrage of Anti-Federalist accusations was that aristocratic merchant-Federalists were using economic coercion on the voters. Typical was the indignant attack of "ADZE" in the *Maryland Journal* roundly condemning "the threatening of some great folks not to employ any of us Mechanicks, or to take work from us, unless we vote as the great men please. . . ." So effective was this dastardly pressure, asserted "ADZE" that one of his neighbors, a carpenter, had become "silent as a mouse from the threats of one of his employers." [4] Elaborating on the same theme, "An Irishman" described Chase as a friend to the poor, (and thus presumably to the Irish) and fretted: "Ye beheld the late *parade* of some of the merchants to the Point, to canvass in opposition to Mr. Chase and Mr. McMechen. . . . What does such a parade mean! The language is so plain that a child may understand it. Coopers! we buy your casks; tradesmen! we are your employers; . . . No one body of men should rule this town." [5] Indeed, no tyranny, wrote an Anti-Federalist "Voter of Baltimore-Town" could "be more cruel or hurtful than to attempt to enslave the minds of honest industrious men by this means." [6]

Recognizing the political effectiveness of this rich versus poor issue, the Federalists tried to tar the opposition with the same brush. In response to the Antis' press attacks, a Federalist "Real Voter" cited the record of both Chase and McMechen in their previous terms in the House of Delegates. Both had voted a tax on liquor shopkeepers, approved an appropriation of £5,000 for clearing the Potomac, and £3,000 a year to support two colleges. Such measures, "Real Voter" contended, showed little genuine sympathy with the poor taxpayers of Baltimore town.[7] An article by "Federals" further

[4] *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1788. It was common practice to adopt similar symbolic pseudonyms for press attacks.
[5] *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1788. [6] *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1788. [7] *Ibid.*

attacked Chase's pose as the friend of the poor. If Chase was not rich, it was not from lack of effort. Indeed few Marylanders had had more or better opportunities to amass a fortune. Chase's failure, contended "Federals," was merely additional proof of his general lack of ability.[8]

This effort of the factions to win the vote of the masses was accompanied by drives to solidify and make politically effective the various minority groups. Germans, assured that their vote could determine the election, were urged to act together.[9] The Irish were asked to ballot for James McHenry because of his Celtic ancestry.[10] Religious minorities were also wooed. Chase was so often accused of being anti-Catholic that he was forced to issue a broadside two days before the election to appeal "To the Roman Catholic Voters in Baltimore-Town." The contention was that he had supported measures to confiscate church lands and buildings. Chase dismissed this as fraudulent. The bill he had sanctioned had involved a mere legal technicality, the transferral of the titles of church holdings from the religious community to an individual superior.[11] It had never been his intention to undermine the position of the Catholic church in the Free State. The real mischief, insisted the beleaguered candidate, lay in the fallacious and misleading attacks of the Federalists.

Increasingly, as a bitter counterpoint to their class and minority appeals, both factions turned to personal insult, invective and accusations. Chase, always a favorite target, was charged with speculating in flour needed to supply Maryland forces during the Revolution; he was also accused of trading with the enemy.[12] Why, queried the Federalists, were such illuminating pieces of history omitted from his campaign talks to the electorate?

Of the Federalist tandem, John Coulter, "the dwarf-like apothecary," [13] was the prime victim of the Antis' barbs. Local critic "Switch" asserted that he would rather send a "one-

[8] *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser,* Sept. 26, 1788.
[9] *Ibid.,* Sept. 22, 1788.
[10] *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,* Sept. 30, 1788.
[11] Samuel Chase, "To the Roman Catholic Voters in Baltimore-Town," October 4, 1788, broadside collection, Maryland Historical Society. Henceforth designated as MHS.
[12] *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser,* Sept. 26, 1788.

eyed goose " to the Assembly than a two-eyed man of no talent who spoke in monosyllables and acted " like Punch in the puppet-show, as the party behind the curtain directs." [14] Coulter's apparent weakness was further emphasized by " ADZE," who criticized McHenry's party spirit in asserting that " he did not thank any of us to vote for him, unless they would also vote for his brother Doctor." [15] A more positive attacker, " Caution " after complaining of the theatrical affectations, hypocritical cant and ridiculous gasconades of both Federalist candidates, dismissed them as fit " only for the society of old women, where gossiping and scandal are the favorite topics." [16]

As the tempo and rancor of the campaign heightened, both factions utilized the town meeting and political rally for a more immediate contact with the electorate. Early in the campaign, Chase had promised to call a town meeting to answer the charges of the opposition. Two weeks before the scheduled election, however, he had yet to hold the meeting. Instead of honorably fulfilling his pledge to the voter, the Federalists charged, Chase and his running-mate were " employing their *pains-taking partisans* in circulating by whispers, things that will not bear an open examination." [17] In response to these tactics and in lieu of the Chase meeting, the Federalists called an assemblage of their own. Local Federalist leader Robert Smith took the platform to repeat, more positively, charges that he and others of the party had made in the press. Neither of the Antis, Smith argued, could be trusted. McMechen had already betrayed the people's trust while serving in the General Assembly. Presented with a petition of eight hundred names asking for a Federal convention, he had irresponsibly and willfully delayed in delivering it to the House of Delegates.[18] Chase's history was dredged up once again. Smith climaxed his remarks by quoting the Chase declaration that he " would have been the greatest Tory in all Amerca " if he had only known during the Revolution the present outcome of the war.[19]

[13] *Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1788.
[14] *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, Extraordinary,* Sept. 12, 1788.
[15] *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1788.
[16] *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser* Aug. 5, 1788.
[17] *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,* Aug. 19, 1788.
[18] *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1788 and Oct. 3, 1788.
[19] *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1788.

Stung into action, Chase finally called a meeting of his own for September 27, early enough to give the voter time to consider the issues by October 6, election day.[20]

During the August and September electioneering, words increasingly degenerated into blows. A series of free-swinging altercations broke out at political rallies. From conflicting press reports, however, it is difficult to credit either camp with instigations or victories. Typical were the accounts of a Gay Street imbroglio. According to a reporter in the *Maryland Journal,* September 5, the Federalists, backed by a gang of toughs and thugs baited and then assaulted a peaceful assemblage of Antis at a Gay Street rally. In the same issue of the *Journal,* however, " A Real Voter " exonerated the Federalists. A group had merely gone to the Antis' meeting to try to contradict some of their lies. Unfortunately this peaceful mission had been thwarted when a " strong riotous " Chase supporter had insulted one of the Federalist visitors and precipitated a quarrel. Finally, still another version was given by " A True Federalist." The Gay Street meeting, he contended, was not a public gathering, but merely a meeting of some of the friends of Chase and McMechen. " Furious zealous partizans " had thrust themselves into this private party. When an honest citizen objected to this Federalist invasion, he had been set upon by numbers of cowardly gangsters.[21]

There were more serious incidents as the election neared. At the close of a Chase-McMechen rally near the Court House, twenty to thirty men armed with bludgeons fell on the hapless Antis and soundly thumped those who had not retreated fast enough. Advancing on the Chase house, the mob tried unsuccessfully to force an entrance. After smashing some windows, they finally dispersed. Again, there were several conflicting reports of the incident in the press. A Federalist writer " Citizen," though admitting he was not certain just how the riot started, blamed the incendiary words of the speaker Chase. The grog served by the Anti-Federalists also did little to keep the peace. In addition " Citizen " observed, the Antis had " barbarously treated worthy citizens " only a week previously. The action might be considered in this light mere retaliation.[22]

[20] *Ibid.,* Sept. 9, 1788. [21] *Ibid.,* Sept. 12, 1788. [22] *Ibid.,* Sept. 23, 1788.

With obviously a Federalist tongue in cheek, " A Candid Spectator " feared for Chase's life. Only the action of fifty or sixty of the lawyer's opponents had been able to stop the mob from tearing down the candidate's house. Delightedly, this correspondent suggested that the Anti-Federalist candidates be guarded until election day " from the effects of the popular displeasure." [23]

Though this dubious offer was not acted upon, some precautions were taken to insure at least a measure of peace at the polls. A broadside issued on October 3 by Chase and McMechen detailed the arrangements agreed upon by the four candidates. The polls would remain open for four days, nine hours each day. Two justices of the peace were to be in constant attendance. Three friends of each candidate would be admitted to the polling places as observers. If necessary, they could object to the qualifications of a voter. All citizens were forbidden to come to the polls or walk in the streets with weapons, sticks, colors, fifes or drums. Masters were requested to keep slaves and servants home until the voting ended at sunset; captains were urged to keep sailors who were not citizens from coming on shore.[24]

In spite of this detailed and pious pronouncement, Federalists continued to distrust the reliability of the Antis' pledged word. In an extra of the *Maryland Journal,* October 4, " Caveto " charged that the Chase-McMechen forces had already ordered a number of liberty caps to be carried on poles through the streets. Fife and drums were in readiness to spark a scheduled Anti-Federalist parade to the hustings. These preparations, however, did not alarm other Federalists as much as the heavy betting on the election and the possible interference of these gamblers with the process of balloting.[25]

On Monday, October 6, the Maryland electorate went to the polls in Baltimore and throughout the State to select a new House of Delegates. By the end of the week, Federalists McHenry and Coulter triumphed over their rivals by 635 and 623

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Samuel Chase and David McMechen, " To the Voters of Baltimore-Town," October 3, 1788, broadside collection, Md. Hist. Soc.

[25] *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,* Oct. 7, 1788.

votes to 502 and 494 for Chase and McMechen.[26] Only in Baltimore, Anne Arundel, and Harford counties were Antis chosen. In Baltimore, the Charles Ridgely entourage swept in; Anne Arundel elected Jeremiah T. Chase and John Francis Mercer; Harford returned William Pinkney, local lawyer. In spite of the Antis' class appeal and ardent campaigning, they had received a state-wide drubbing at the polls. However, they refused to accept political oblivion.

Five days after the voting had ended, Baltimore's "Friends of Antifederalism" were summoned to a meeting to consider further measures to undo the unfortunate election and to keep Baltimore in "hot water" as long as possible.[27] Resulting from this no-surrender meeting were a series of indignant press attacks accusing the Federalists of muscle tactics at the hustings, fraudulent voting, and the stifling of the true political sentiment of the city.

An unsigned article in the October 14, *Maryland Journal* made the Antis' charges specific. On the first day of the voting, it was charged, merchants and gentlemen supporting McHenry had paraded through town followed by sailors with a ship and pilot boat (reminiscent of the May celebration of Constitutional ratification). Behind this vanguard trooped a large crowd of ineligible voters. With wildly waving colors and the music of fife and drum, these McHenry men took possession of the polls and arbitrarily screened and checked would-be voters. Such tactics, the article charged, were only a preview. On the second day of the balloting, a Chase-McMechen group arrived at the polls. Almost all were voters, yet were forced from their stations and beaten and abused by a Federalist mob. That evening and on every election night handbills had been distributed threatening to name those who voted for Chase and McMechen as "enemies to the new federal government." In the face of such physical and moral threats, contended the Antis, the real vote of the city was not cast.

A furious "Switch" issued a sardonic prescription for winning an election, writing in the *Journal*:

> Circulate a thousand *lies,* and always keep a party ready to swear to their *truth*—speak of secret intelligence . . . *assert boldly* and

[26] *Ibid.,* Oct. 10, 1788.

[27] *Ibid.,* Oct. 14, 1788.

*swear roundly . . . cast dirt enough, some will stick . . . make a great parade* and assume a *military* appearance . . . beat a few *peaceful* citizens, and thereby, you will frighten many others. *Conscience* must lie still, while *perjury* is encouraged, and give it a sanction by *grave advice* . . . tell one man he may safely swear, "that he has the property required by law," although you *lend* him the case or a *gold watch.* Advise another that he may take the same *oath* if he has debts due him from the State, or individuals, although he may *die,* or his debtor be *unable* to pay him . . . for a future prospect is a present property. If a man is a tradesman, *not worth a shilling,* advise him that he may swear he has property to the value of thirty pounds; because he may *earn* that sum by his trade, if he *lives long enough.*[28]

In the face of these charges, the Federalists insisted that they were innocent of any violence or skullduggery. Indeed, if there had been any mischief, they asserted, it was the Antis who had flagrantly violated the election regulations. A Federalist writer "Baltimorean" detailed the accusations. On a Saturday before the election, he charged, David McMechen had visited Fells Point dressed in the shabby clothes of a sailor. He toured the local grog shops, drinking with the sailors and playing Scaramouche to get them to parade on the first day of the election. On Monday the Antis had duly paraded from Fells Point to the hustings, bearing a flag, carried by an alien, and flaunting liberty caps. Arriving at the polls, they had stationed themselves in front of the door and stayed there the entire day. On Tuesday morning the Chase-McMechen forces still held the polls. In addition to their obstruction, they erected an insulting sign attacking McHenry, and, to lighten the occasion and mellow the voter distributed two casks of gin. Finally, in the afternoon, McHenry's men forcefully won control of the polling places. They allowed all to vote without distinction. On Wednesday, Chase marched at the head of five hundred men, only one hundred ten of them qualified voters, and asked free access to the polls. In spite of the Antis' previous actions, the Federalists magnanimously let them vote.[29]

Assuming a middle ground between these conflicting Anti-Federalist and Federalist reports, "Spectator," an apparently impartial observer, promised to report what had really happened at the controversial election. On the first day, he stated,

[28] *Ibid.,* Oct. 17, 1788. [29] *Ibid.,* Oct. 24, 1788.

though there had been a large crowd and some pushing, no real blows had been traded. On the second day, however, the Chase-McMechen forces arrived, threw mud and sand at the Federalists and scuffled with the opposition for the control of the polls. The McHenry-Coulter men repulsed the attack and occupied the voting places. The third and fourth days had produced no further action.[30] The one constant in all the stories was the fact that the Federalists had controlled the polls on the second day day after, beating off an attack of the Antis.

Having informally contested the election results in the press the Antis next carried their complaints to the House of Delegates. Here Chase and McMechen argued that the voting had been fraudulent due to violence, threats, and the use of liquor and money by Federalist supporters. This petition of the Antis, however, had little chance of success in the Federalist-dominated House. After hearing a few witnesses, and determining that McHenry and Coulter should not be allowed to vote on the petition, the delegates declared the Baltimore Federalists duly elected.[31]

Alerted and annoyed by the intransigence of the Antis and their lingering support in Baltimore, Anne Arundel, and Harford county areas, the Federalists determined to profit from their experience in the campaigns for the House of Delegates. In the upcoming national Congressional and Presidential voting, they would clip the wings of this Anti-Federalist resistance once and for all. Swiftly, the newly elected lower house moved to insure the election of a complete slate of Federalist Congressmen. The State was divided into Congressional districts; each Maryland voter could choose six candidates, one from each area. Consequently, ballots in Frederick County could elect a candidate from Anne Arundel and vice versa.[32] With the weight of the entire State thrown against the three recalcitrant Anti counties, the Federalists confidently anticipated a party Congressional sweep.

In these first national elections, the issues were the same as those in the local campaigns for the House of Delegates. Again

[30] *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser,* Nov. 28, 1788.
[31] Maryland, *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates,* Nov. session, 1788, p. 17.
[32] Maryland, *Laws of Maryland,* 1788, Ch. X.

the Antis stood forth as friends to Constitutional amendments and " jealous guardians of the rights of the people . . . avowedly opposed to that aristocratical influence and spirit which are prevalent in the councils of this State and dangerous to public liberty." [33] On the other hand, Federalists like " Tom Plain Truth " asserted that the Constitution was still in danger. The Antis, it was shouted, were the same old paper money men dedicated to chaos and confusion. As confirmation of their mischief-making propensities, Federalist propagandist " Honestus " cited some old Anti prophecies of doom if the Constitution were adopted. The electorate had been deluged with grim warnings. Methodists had been told that the Roman Catholic religion would be established; Quakers were warned that Presbyterians would dominate American ecclesiastical circles. Reputedly, excise men would control trade in soap, candles and cider and be empowered to search homes or persons at any time. To help pay the American debt, ten thousand militia men would be shipped to France. In addition, the Antis threatened that if the Constitution were put into effect " every poor man's son at the age of fourteen, is to be enrolled as a soldier and for the most trifling fault will be drawn up to the halberd; and have nearly his guts lashed out by perhaps a Negro drummer." Climaxing these dire predictions was the assertion that the third son of George III, Prince William Henry, was slated to be king of America.[34] To bury forever such lies and their perpetrators, the Federalists asked for one more victory at the polls.[35]

To insure state-wide party cooperation in these first Congressional campaigns both the Federalists and Anti-Federalists introduced the new device of party tickets. Listed were complete slates for the six Congressional and eight electoral posts.[36] Yet, though party regularity was encouraged, it was obvious that party alignments were less than certain. There were several discrepancies in the tickets printed in the Balti-

[33] *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser,* Dec. 30, 1788.
[34] *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,* Oct. 21, 1788.
[35] [Annapolis] *The Maryland Gazette,* Jan. 1, 1789.
[36] Maryland's national Senators were chosen by a joint ballot of the General Assembly. Maryland, *Laws of Maryland,* 1788, Ch. XLIV. Veteran politicians and eminent Federalists John Henry and Charles Carroll of Carrollton were chosen to represent the Eastern and Western shores.

more papers and busily distributed on single flyers throughout the counties. The Free State voter reading the Federalist and Anti-Federalist tickets listed in the *Maryland Gazette,* December 30, might have been understandably confused. For Congress, the parties suggested the following:

| Federalist: | Anti-Federalist: |
|---|---|
| 1st Michael Jenifer Stone | George Dent |
| 2nd *Joshua Seney* | *Joshua Seney* |
| 3rd Benjamin Contee | John Francis Mercer |
| 4th William Smith | Samuel Sterett |
| 5th George Gale | William Vans Murray |
| 6th Daniel Carroll | Abraham Few |

For Presidential electors the parties recommended:

| Federalist: | Anti-Federalist: |
|---|---|
| *Western Shore* | *Western Shore* |
| George Plater | George Thomas |
| John Rogers | Moses Rawlins |
| Alexander Contee Hanson | Laurence Oneale |
| Dr. Philip Thomas | J. T. Chase |
| Robert Smith | Charles Ridgely of William |
| *Eastern Shore* | *Eastern Shore* |
| *William Tilghman* | *William Tilghman* |
| Col. William Richardson | James Shaw |
| Dr. William Matthews | John Seney [37] |

Joshua Seney was the listed choice of both parties in the second Congressional district, while William Tilghman had double backing for Eastern Shore Elector. Compounding the confusion were individual broadsides, backing tickets of "Friends to Amendments" and "No Party." Both were obviously Anti-Federalist, yet both differed in their listing of candidates according to districts.[38] Cautioning the voter, the Federalists explained that the Antis were once more indulging

[37] Maryland's Congressional districts included: 1) St. Mary's, Charles, Calvert; 2) Kent, Talbot, Queen Anne; 3) Anne Arundel and Prince Georges; 4) Harford, Baltimore City and County; 5) Somerset, Dorchester, Worcester, Caroline; 6) Frederick, Montgomery, Washington. See Matthew P. Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Chicago, 1925), p. 653.

[38] "Friends to Amendments," "No Party," tickets in the broadside collection, MHS.

their penchant for obscuring the real issues by putting Federalists on their tickets.[39]

Besides these disruptive attempts by the opposition, the Federalists faced some internal objections to their drive for party solidarity. Nathanial Ramsay, early Federalist choice for the Second District, complained that his name had been struck off the ticket to make room for Joshua Seney. Writing to Baltimore General Otho H. Williams, apparently a father confessor to several lesser lights of the party, Ramsay sought advice. His friends were still prepared to back him, yet he hesitated to run after the Federalist leaders in the General Assembly who had rejected his name in formulating the party ticket. The erstwhile candidate admitted that he was not well-known throughout the State and that a wounded leg would prohibit any extensive campaigning. Still, Ramsey's friends encouraged him to run. The harrassed politician assured Williams that he would bow to any advice from the party elder.[40] The answer is not recorded, but Seney remained on the ticket.

Party spirit and tactics elicited a more public correspondence from Samuel Sterett, Anti-Federalist candidate for Baltimore's Fourth District. Addressing a broadside simply "To the Public," Sterett complained of "mean and illiberal" attacks on his reputation. The Federalists, he asserted, talked of plots and tricks "until their own affrighted imaginations have realized the phantom." Heatedly, Sterett protested his innocence of any planned subversion, insisting that he had no party views to promote, no resentments to satisfy, no hungry dependents to support.[41]

Federalist writer "Tom Plain Truth," however, in an answering broadside, listed Sterett with the "black list men," those who would be compelled under the constitutional arrangement to pay British debts. Sterett's father owed £6,937 sterling which had been paid with £48 paper money. Still, Sterett had boasted that if elected he would have no temptations to deviate from strict propriety and justice. Was not £6,937 a temptation, sneered "Tom Plain Truth"? Look at Sterett's supporters, he

[39] *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Dec. 30, 1788.

[40] Nathanial Ramsay to Otho H. Williams, Dec. 29, 1788, Otho H. Williams MSS, Vol. IV, Md. Hist. Soc.

[41] Samuel Sterett, "To the Public," 1788, broadside collection, Md. Hist. Soc.

urged. They included Baltimore County politician Charles Ridgely of William, who had paid a £3,273 debt with £23 paper money. If, the Federalist critic summarized, "you are disposed to have yourselves taxed to pay their debts, *send them* —if you think they ought to pay their debts, send others.[42]

Early Federalist prognostications of the outcome of the contest indicated that the electorate would indeed "send others." A Western Maryland Federalist assured Otho H. Williams that a large majority would vote the party ticket. Every step had been taken to counteract the "Dark and Villanous Designs of the Antis." One Baltimore Anti-Federalist, trying to woo the German voters in Betztown, had been hustled out of the area under threat of a coat of tar and feathers.[43] Though he and his fellows obviously had had time to do little damage, Federalist county leaders sent out fifteen runners on election eve to bring in the party vote. The final tallies in Washington County indicated the thoroughness of the party canvass. 1,167 Federalist votes were cast against none for the Antis.

Throughout the Free State, as a result of concerted party efforts, the Federalist Congressional and electoral tickets swept in. The largest majorities were registered in Talbot, Cecil, Dorchester, Somerset, Caroline, Frederick, Montgomery, and Washington counties.[44] All were along highways of commerce, the Shenandoah valley, the Potomac and the Chesapeake areas. In this the Maryland Federalist pattern of victory followed a national trend, piling up the strongest majorities in regions committed to commerce and export.[45] In balloting for President and vice-president, Maryland's eight electors also followed the national pattern. Eight votes were cast for George Washington and eight reserved for a favorite son, Chief Justice Robert Hanson Harrison.[46]

[42] "Tom Plain Truth," "To the Freemen of Baltimore-Town and the Fourth District," Jan. 6, 1789, broadside collection, MHS.

[43] R. Pindell to Otho H. Williams, Jan. 6, 1789, Otho H. Williams MSS, Vol. V, Md. Hist. Soc.

[44] *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser,* Jan. 16, 1789 and [Annapolis] *The Maryland Gazette,* Jan. 22, 1789.

[45] Orin G. Libby, *The Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution, 1787-88* (Madison, 1894), p. 49.

[46] Certificate of the votes of the Maryland electors, 1789, Executive Papers, Box I, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

As the Federalists convincingly won their first national tests, factions had developed and taken on the outlines and trappings of political parties. Successfully inaugurated was the state-wide party ticket. The worth of the town meeting and local political rally and the value of a good stable of touring stump speakers were recognized and utilized by both groups. The press served as an effective propaganda medium. Both factions plied the voter with persuasive cups of gin and grog. Both discovered the effectiveness of economic and even physical coercion. The Federalists in their efforts to unite the party had begun to develop a network of correspondence linking county leaders with the party elders.

All of these devices, however, were merely political externals, the symptoms of party. Still lacking were key components of a functioning political party: a nationally integrated leadership and a number of timely, vital issues. The Federalists would develop both in the first Washingtion administration.

# THE RECTORY OF ST. PAUL'S PARISH, BALTIMORE: AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

By Howard E. Wooden *

SHORTLY after the completion of a new church building for St. Paul's Parish in May, 1784, arrangements were initiated for the construction of a new Rectory.[1] In the following year, 1785, Col. John Eager Howard conveyed to the vestry one-half acre and twenty-eight square perches of land on the north side of Northwest (now Saratoga) Street at the head of Liberty Street to be used for the site of the new Rectory.[2] This plot was a portion of what was then called Lun's Lot. By 1789, actual building operations had begun, with funds procured through subscriptions and a lottery held during the preceding

* The author wishes to express his sincere appreciation to the Reverend Frederick Ward Kates, Rector of St. Paul's Church, 1956-1961, and the Right Reverend Harry Lee Doll and Mrs. Doll for their valuable assistance and cooperation. As the occupants of the Rectory at the time when much of this study was carried-on, Dr. and Mrs. Doll were doubtless many times inconvenienced but very graciously threw open the house so that the author might freely explore, photograph, measure and draw.

[1] The parish of Saint Paul's had its origin in 1692 when, by act of the General Assembly of Maryland, it became one of the three Anglican parishes incorporated in Baltimore County. The first church was constructed between 1693 and 1700 and was located on Patapsco Neck. A second church building, erected between 1731 and 1739, was located within the square bounded by what are now Charles, Saratoga, St. Paul and Lexington Streets. About 1779, the Vestry decided to build a new church which was begun in 1780 and finished in May, 1784. This church was located within the same block as had been the second church, though somewhat nearer to Lexington Street. It remained the church of the Parish until 1817 when a fourth church, designed by Robert Carey Long, Jr., was erected on the site of the present church at Charles and Saratoga Streets. The present edifice was designed by Richard Upjohn and was finished in 1856, replacing the earlier one which had been destroyed by fire in 1854.

[2] *Laws of Maryland,* 1785, ch. XL, November session. The act was passed on March 2nd and reads: "A Bill, entitled, An Act to enable John Eager Howard of Baltimore County, to convey to the Vestry of Saint Paul's Parish, and their successors, a parcel of ground adjoining Baltimore-town, for the purpose therein mentioned."

FIG. 1. VIEW OF ST. PAUL'S RECTORY, 1959.

year.[3] By 1790 the main house or parsonage proper was completed. However because of insufficiency of funds a second subscription was called for the completion of certain attached buildings.[4] Moreover, additional land was required for that purpose and a second grant was made available through the

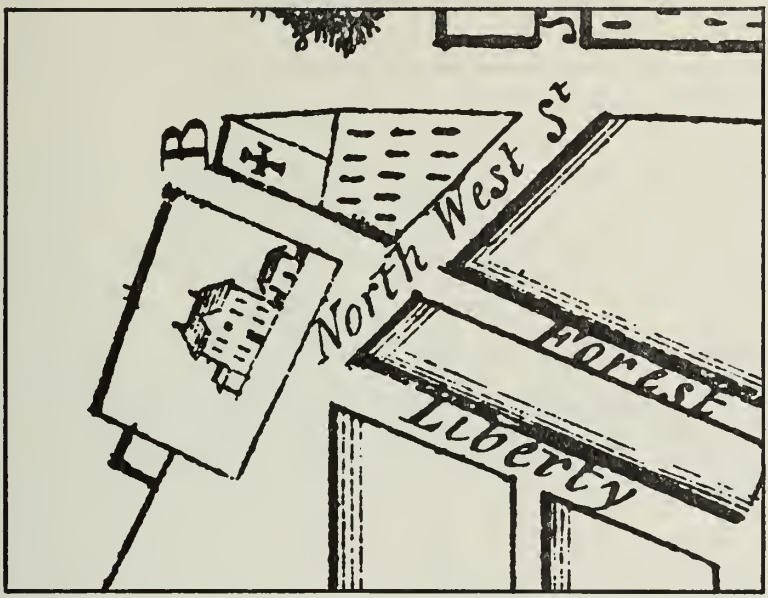



FIG. 2. 1801 *ATLAS*.

generosity again of Col. Howard. The project was completed by March, 1791, and ready for occupancy shortly thereafter.[5]

Stylistically, the Rectory (fig. 1) possesses to a noteworthy degree the charm and quiet dignity exhibited by many of the Georgian Mansions of the period. Its importance for architectural study however lies in the fact that it embodies a well-

[3] The lottery was ordered on April 14, 1788. See Ethan Allen, Historical Sketches of S. Paul's Parish in Baltimore County, Maryland, in possession of St. Paul's Parish. Photostatic copies in Md. Hist. Soc., p. 129. Three thousand lottery tickets at $2.00 each were sold. Since the prizes amounted to $4,000, a sum of $2,000 remained for the total cost of the construction expenses.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 133; and *Laws of Maryland*, 1790, ch. IV, November session. For a discussion of this phase of the building activity, see below.

[5] See Ethan Allen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 141-142. The original rectory which had been used until 1791 was located on the north west corner of Charles and Lexington Streets where the Fidelity Building now stands.

selected blend of traditional style with certain Republican forms which were gaining increasing usage during the socio-cultural transition immediately following the Revolution.

Although much of the original structure as completed in 1791 has remained intact, a careful examination of the building reveals that several major architectural alterations were carried

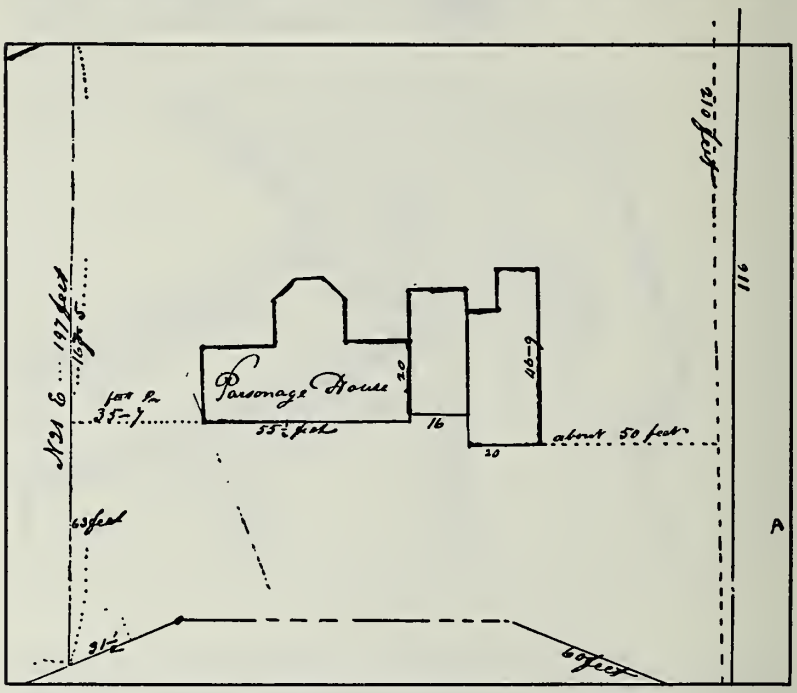



Fig. 3. Plat of 1827.

*Courtesy, Bureau of Building Construction, Baltimore.*

out at various later periods. In addition to internal evidence, however, numerous documentary sources enable us to recover the initial character of the Rectory as well as to gain further insight into the various structural changes which it has undergone. The principal original sources which have been explored and from which the conclusions of this study are drawn include: First, *An Atlas of Baltimore Town from the year 1801,*[6] (fig. 2):

[6] *Warner and Hanna's Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore, 1801.* Collection of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

second, an oil painting executed in 1801 by Thomas Ruckle which shows the Rectory [7] (see cover); third, an 1827 plat of the site,[8] (fig. 3); fourth, an 1833 plat of the site,[9] (fig. 4); fifth, fire insurance policies issued in the years 1829, 1836, and 1871, bearing brief descriptions of the building for each of the respective years; [10] sixth, an 1873 drawing signed by the then city surveyor, Simon Martinet, which shows the floor plan both of the buildings and of the site; [11] seventh, the unpublished manuscript of the Rev. Ethan Allen, entitled Historical Sketches of St. Paul's Parish, and written about 1855; [12] and finally, eighth, miscellaneous documents, including land records, early newspapers, church publications, and the like. In the discussion which follows, the architectural evolution of the Rectory will be traced, and its more significant aspects will be examined.

[7] The painting is now in the possession of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, and shows both the Rectory of St. Paul's as well as St. Peter's Catholic Church which stood somewhat northeast of the Rectory. Some years ago a lithograph copy of this painting was published by Bendann Art Galleries in Baltimore with the following descriptive title: *Saint Peter's the First Catholic Church Structure erected in Baltimore Town about 1770. After 1798, the "Paltry" Pro-Cathedral of Right Reverend John Carroll, D.D., First Bishop and Archbishop of the United States.* For the remainder of this paper, this painting will be referred to as the Ruckle Painting.

[8] This plat dates May 5, 1827 and is signed "John Eager Howard to the Vestry of St. Paul's Church." It seems likely that it was drawn at a time when consideration was heing given to the sale of ground to the east of the Rectory. See below. The plat was formerly a part of the records of Augustus Bouldin & Co. of Baltimore and is now housed in the Bureau of Bulding Construction, Municipal Building, Baltimore.

[9] The 1833 plat is labelled "Plat of the Vestry—St. Paul's Church—Ground and J. B. Morris attached thereto," and provides a duplicate of the floor plan of the Rectory which appears on the 1827 plat. It was apparently prepared in connection with negotiations for the sale of ground to J. B. Morris who owned the property immediately adjacent to and west of the Rectory lot. See below. Like the 1827 plat, this plat was also originally among the records of Augustus Bouldin & Co. and is now housed in the Bureau of Building Construction in Baltimore.

[10] These policies were issued by the Baltimore Equitable Society. The first policy was written on March 11, 1829. Thereafter the policy was re-written each seven years until March 14, 1871, when it was issued on the perpetual basis and is still in force.

[11] This drawing is now in the possession of the Vestry of St. Paul's Church and is signed "Simon G. Martinet, City Surveyor, 1873." For the remainder of this paper this sketch will be referred to as the Martinet Sketch.

[12] The manuscript is housed in the Maryland Historical Society. The Vestry Records go hack no further than to the year 1876. Original copies of records of all proceedings prior to 1854 were allegedly destroyed when the Church was burned in that year. The *Historical Sketches* of Ethan Allen, finished in 1855, were based on the earlier Vestry Records, however, and therefore serve as monumental and invaluable source material.

Based on the sources listed above, three distinct phases of building activity may be identified: Period I the initial construction period between 1789 and 1791; Period II between 1827 and 1836 which saw an extensive building expansion program; and Period III between 1836 and 1906 which was climaxed by the final major structural addition to the building.

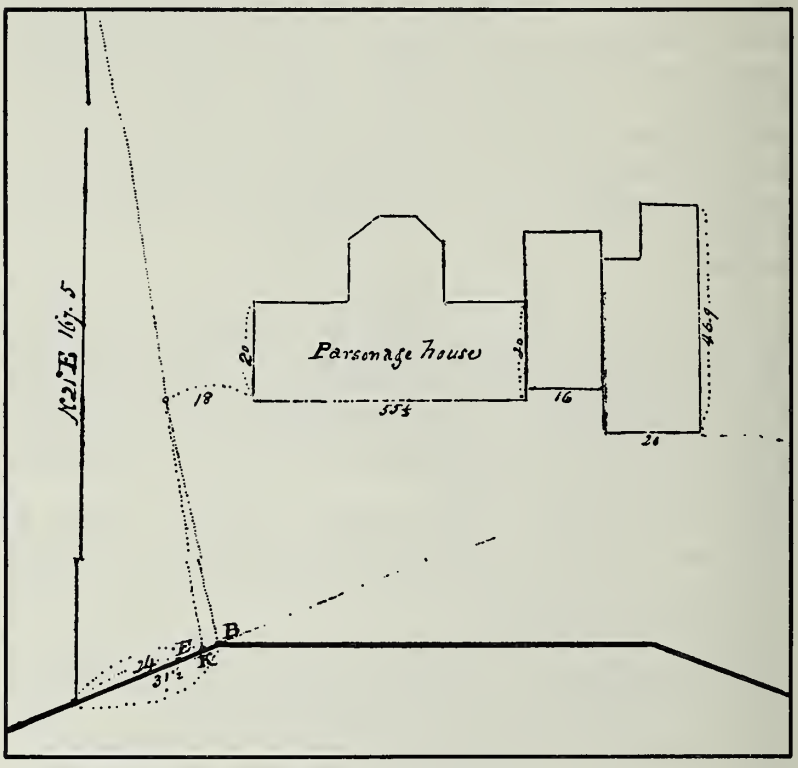



Fig. 4. Plat of 1833.

*Courtesy, Bureau of Building Construction.*

## PERIOD I: 1789–1791

In its original state the Rectory, as shown in figure 5, consisted of four principal architectural units, viz., the parsonage house proper (building P); a two-storey east pavillion (building B) which served possibly as a bath house and/or as servant quarters; a small but deep center structure (building E), one-

storey high, which connected the other two main units and which was perhaps used as a kitchen or pantry for the residence; and a west annex (building A) which doubtless served as an office for the Rector. Buildings P and E are still well preserved, although now somewhat modified. Building A seems to have been demolished rather early in the 19th century and replaced by the present west annex between 1833 and 1836.[13] The land on which building B stood was sold in 1829 and it is probable that the building was demolished about that time.[14]

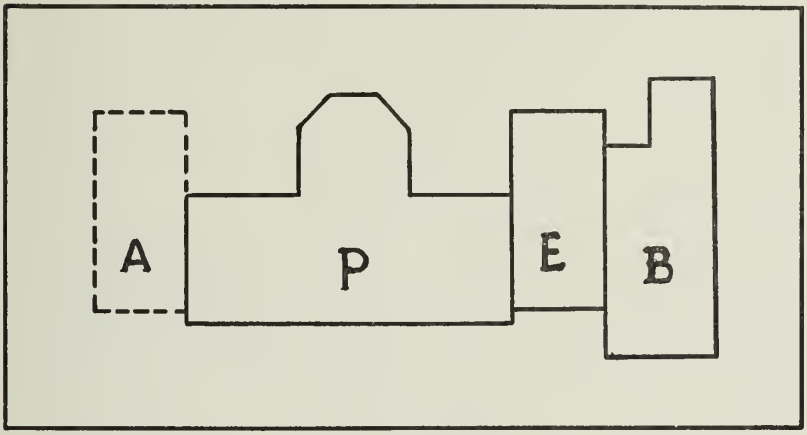



FIG. 5. PLAN OF RECTORY AS ORIGINALLY COMPLETED IN 1791.

The Rectory was situated on a hill which, at the time of construction, lay just beyond the northern edge of the growing 18th century town. As was so often the case of other Southern Colonial mansions of the period, much thought during the planning was doubtless concentrated on the emplacement of the structure. What appears to have been considered the most propitious position for the building was one which aligned the axis of the main house with the exact center of the broad and sweeping street which the house was to overlook, i. e., Liberty Street, as shown on the 1801 *Atlas* (fig. 2). At any rate, it was this position which was finally selected and which at the time must have afforded an exciting panorama of the town and harbor and, by the same token, an unobstructed view of the building itself from below.

[13] See below.

[14] See below.

It would seem that this choice was to have a controlling impact on the final plans which were to evolve, for in meeting this requirement, it was obviously necessary for the main house to be constructed but a few feet from the original west boundary line of the property conveyed in 1785, and the certainty that any future westward extension of the building would thereby be blocked seems to have been of little concern and was apparently altogether ignored, at least at the moment when construction began. Yet even before the project was completed, the Vestry in 1790 requested additional land on the west in order that offices might be built. Ample space for such a building was already available behind the parsonage, and the fact that preference was instead shown for a location on the west of the main house raises the possibility that the builders may certainly have intended the eventual completion of a symmetrical Palladian Country-house design.[15]

A study of the form which the original complex took further supports this assumption. The 1801 *Atlas* (fig. 2), the Ruckle Painting (cover) and the plat of 1827 (fig. 3) together demonstrate how the Palladian principle was originally fulfilled on the east of the parsonage house by means of a two-storey dependency and a deep single-storey structure connecting the two. The depth of the connecting unit, extreme in comparison with the proportions of the other two structures, would admittedly be somewhat of an unusual feature in Palladian design. Yet the composition as a whole indeed suggests the prevailing late 18th century conception of the Palladian Country-house type as expressed by the linear organization of the three units and by the fact that the frontal plane of the small hyphen receded from the facade of the main house while that of the taller end dependency rather characteristically projected.[16]

[15] That is, one in which the formal massing arrangement consisted of a relationship between five structural units: a central main house with two dependencies, one on either side, connected to the central unit by means of narrow and low hyphen-like pavillions, the whole complex symmetrically integrated along a linear axis. Well-known Maryland examples of this arrangement are to be found throughout the period and include among others the celebrated "Hammond-Harwood House," 1779-1774, in Annapolis; "Hampton House," 1783-1790, near Towson; and "Homewood," 1801-1805, in Baltimore.

[16] According to the scale of the 1827 plat, the east dependency must have projected about eight to nine feet beyond the facade of the main house, and the connecting unit which is still standing recedes 11½ inches.

Returning now to the west side of the Rectory, we shall recall that a small west annex was standing by 1801 according to the *Atlas* published in that year (fig. 2). We are justified in assuming that this structure was contemporary with the other original buildings although, since it is not shown on the 1827 plat, it seems to have been demolished at a comparatively early date. For in 1790, as indicated above, additional lands on the west of the then finished parsonage house were conveyed, according to the Laws of Maryland, in order that offices might be completed.[17] Certainly construction of the annex must have been undertaken immediately and completed by 1791, for in that year, soon after the death of the Rector, the Vestry resolved that an advertisement for a successor be published which would read: "There is (now finished) a commodius house, with every other necessary building, and garden, for the accommodation of a minister. . . ."[18] The problem is therefore further compounded, and the complex shown on the 1801 *Atlas* must then be taken as an elevation of the Rectory as it appeared in what at least had by then come to be accepted as its finished state. This indicates conclusively that the west office arrangement, consisting frontally of a single unit only, did not balance the several eastern buildings. There is no evidence to document further construction. Indeed, any expectation of ever achieving complete symmetrical balance of five members must have been abandoned early inasmuch as, even with the additional land

[17] See *Laws of Maryland*, 1790, ch. IV, November session. The Act, in part, reads: ". . . Whereas the Vestry of Saint Paul's Parish, in Baltimore County, by the humble petition to this general assembly have set forth, that they have built a parsonage house on a lot of ground in Baltimore-town, for the use and residence of the minister of the said parish for the time being, and are carrying on the building of the offices belonging to same; and that in order to complete the said building it will be necessary to have an addition of a piece of ground adjoining the said lot of ground, beginning at the north west corner of Liberty and Saratoga Streets, thence extending along Saratoga Street thirty-one feet six inches, thence northeast two hundred and two feet, thence east-south-east thirty feet to the above mentioned lot of ground, thence by the line of said lot of ground, and in a direct line beyond the same, to the place of beginning; . . ." The use of the plural term, "offices," in this reference would lead us to conclude that at least two buildings were at this time intended on the west side. However, the 1801 *Atlas*, shows but one although it is possible that a second building was constructed but so situated as not to be visible in the view given by the *Atlas*.

[18] Although this tells us but little, it is actually the earliest known description of the finished building and was apparently derived originally from the Vestry minutes of April 4, 1791. Cf. J. S. B. Hodges, S. T. D., *The Future of S. Paul's Parish* (Baltimore, 1878), p. 10.

bequest, the space available on the west was too narrow to accommodate such secondary units of the size already complete on the east.[19]

It is clear then that the history of the west side of the Rectory, in terms of what took place and why, is rather a matter of conjecture, although there is some little evidence as reviewed above to suggest that a balance in massing might have been desired, even if the idea occurred possibly as an after thought on the part of the original designers. Only partial fulfillment of this was achieved and that, as we shall see, not before the mid-1830's during the second major period of construction.

An unusual architectural aspect of the rectory in its original form is found in the plan of the parsonage house itself. The house was built on the inverted T-plan with but two rooms on each floor and a deep central hall, divided interiorly by a large transverse arch and terminating in an octagonal bay which functioned as a stair tower (figs. 6 & 7). Although its significance has heretofore remained largely unnoticed, the stair tower is actually one of the most distinctive architectural elements of the Rectory, for in essence the plan demonstrates a continuation of the early Southern fondness for this feature as established in such early works of the 17th century as Bacon's Castle (Surrey County, Virginia) and Clover Field (Queen Anne County, Maryland). It is interesting to note furthermore that with its projecting octagonal bay, the floor plan strongly suggests the orientation found in Jefferson's 1772 plan of Monticello.[20] The octagonal bay of course came to be a favorite

[19] It is interesting to note that the strip of land on the west was too narrow by only five inches. There is of course the possibility that the Vestry, for financial reasons and in anticipation of a time when they might acquire still another land grant on the west, decided to defer plans of a more permanent and elaborate nature and settled on a single temporary structure. We know that a financial problem was being faced at this time, for according to the manuscript of Ethan Allen (*loc. cit.*, p. 133), insuffiency of funds necessitated calling a second subscription for the completion of the offices. The possibility that the original west annex was merely a temporary substitute—acceptable only in order that the project could be brought within the limited financial means then available—might account for its having been eliminated from the Ruckle painting of 1801, although it apparently was standing at that time, and in addition would suggest an explanation of why the building was no longer standing as early as 1827, according to the plat of that year.

[20] See Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York, 1922), figure 52.

Fig. 6. Rear View, Showing Octagon, Porch, and North Extension of 1827-29.

Fig. 7. Central Hallway Showing Elliptical Archway and Staircase in Octagonal Bay.

*Courtesy, The Baltimore Sunday Magazine.*

domestic architectural form of the early Republic and is found in numerous other Maryland homes of about the same vintage as the Rectory, e. g., the Murray House, "Acton," in Annapolis.[21]

## PERIOD II: 1827–1836

The plan of the Rectory underwent extensive changes during the period between 1827 and 1836. The Rev. Dr. William E. Wyatt became Rector in 1827, and the fact that his family was eminently larger than that of his predecessors may well have been responsible for the undertaking of an expansion program about this time.[22]

In 1827, according to the plat of that year, the Rectory remained unchanged from its original plan with the exception of the original west annex (Building A) which apparently had been removed though not yet replaced by a new structure, as we have seen. It was at this time, however, that steps were being taken which eventually led to the sale in 1829 of much of the property east of the Rectory including that occupied by building B, the dependency located at the extreme east.[23]

[21] See Lewis A. Coffin and A. C. Holden, *Brick Architecture of the Colonial Period in Maryland and Virginia* (New York, 1919), p. 12 and plate 20.

[22] The Rev. Dr. Wyatt served as Rector from 1827 to 1864. He was married in 1812 and had a family consisting of 11 children, though some of these were born after he became rector. CF. Frederick Ward Kates, *Bridge Across Four Centuries—The Clergy of St. Paul's Parish* (Baltimore, 1957), p. 28.

[23] The plat of 1827 is dated May 5, 1827, and seems to have been prepared in connection with ground sale negotiations which were in progress at this time. On May 14, 1827, consent was granted to the Vestry by John Eager Howard (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber WG, No. 197, folio 342) for the sale of such properties as were in excess of that required for the parsonage. Authorization of this agreement was obtained by act of the General Assembly of Maryland in December, 1828. In 1829, the Vestry deeded to Richard Dorsey, a Baltimore merchant, the land east of the Rectory which included the site of Building B. The deed, dated March 4, 1829 (liber WG 197 folio 357), defined the western limits of the property sold to Dorsey as extending ". . . to a line drawn north easterly from Saratoga Street parallel to the aforesaid north northeast line of Lun's lot and distant sixteen feet nine inches easterly from the East gable end wall of the parsonage or main building situated on the adjoining ground belonging to the said Vestry." There is no mention in this deed that a building was then standing on the property, a fact which nevertheless may in no way be construed as conclusive proof that Building B had been razed by 1829. However, shortly thereafter, Dorsey must have had a home constructed on this site for by 1831 he is listed in *Matchett's Baltimore Director* as residing on Saratoga opposite Liberty Street. Building B then must certainly have been razed before 1831.

The Dorsey home, a Greek-revival town mansion, became a landmark to later Baltimorians. Dorsey died in 1850; the last listing for him was in the 1849-50 edition of Matchett's. After Dorsey's death, this structure came into the

Meanwhile, however, between 1827 and 1829, extensive improvements seem to have been projected including the construction of a two-storey addition, extending northward from behind the east room of the main parsonage, which thus provided one additional room on each storey, and a second storey to the small east wing, *i. e,,* building E. A fire insurance policy issued in March, 1829, documents, by measurement and description, the existence of the north extension as well as of the east wing second storey. The brick work of the two match closely, suggesting that they were contemporary.[24] Since the north extension does not appear on the 1827 plat, it and therefore the second storey of the east wing would thus seem to have been constructed between 1827 and 1829.

1836 can be taken as the *terminus ad quem* for the present two-storey west annex as well as for the balcony to the rear of the main building, west of the octagonal bay, for reference is first made to both of these units in a second insurance policy written in March, 1836.[25] Additional evidence is available which makes it possible to narrow-down considerably the date for the erection of the west annex. However, the fact that the west annex is not shown on the plat of 1833 cannot in itself be taken as conclusive evidence that it was not yet built. For it is

possession of Johns Hopkins when on July 16, 1851, Mrs. Elizabeth Dorsey, widow of Richard Dorsey, sold the entire premises to Hopkins for $50,000 (Deed: Liber AWB 463 folio 297). The Dorsey home, thereafter known as the Hopkins Town House, on the death of Johns Hopkins in 1873, passed to the Johns Hopkins Hospital and in 1891 was sold to the Royal Arcanum Club (Deed: Liber JB 1368 folio 92). In 1933 it was demolished and the site has since been occupied by a parking garage.

[24] This is the earliest known and perhaps the first policy written on the property. It was issued as Policy No. 10220 by the Baltimore Equitable Society for $4,000, on March 11, 1829. The property covered by the policy is described as ". . . a two story brick Parsonage house . . . situate on the north side of Saratoga street at the north end of Liberty street measuring as follows, fifty-five feet front, twenty feet at west and forty-seven feet at east end, has brick Octagon to the north part forty-four feet round, in which is a stairway. Also two storey brick building at the east end of the main house, eighteen feet by thirty-three feet. Both plain finished having barge boards."

[25] The policy, No. 14054, was re-issued by the Baltimore Equitable Society on March 15, 1836 and written for $4,400. The property described is a ". . . two storey brick Parsonage dwelling house . . . measuring as follows, fifty-five feet front, twenty feet at west end, with Balcony by the back part, and forty-seven feet at east end, has a brick octagon to the north part forty-four feet round, in which is a Stairway. Also, two storey brick building at the east end of the main house eighteen feet by thirty-three feet. Two Storey brick building at west end of the main building twelve feet by sixteen feet. The whole plain finished, having barge boards."

clear that the floor plan shown on the 1833 plat is entirely inaccurate—possibly an old drawing made some years earlier—inasmuch as it shows the original east dependency (Building B) which had been demolished by about 1829 when the east property was sold, and it fails to include the north extension of the east side of the parsonage proper which we know was completed at least by 1829. However, in 1833, the Vestry of St. Paul's agreed to sell to one John B. Morris, Esq., a narrow strip of property to the west side of the Rectory. A letter dated May 16, 1833, addressed to Mr. Morris,[26] announces the authorization for the sale and defines the east line of the saleable property as 18 feet from the southwest corner of the parsonage or main house. This is indicated on the 1833 plat (fig. 4). Had the present brick west annex been standing at that time, it seems entirely reasonable to assume that it, rather than the parsonage, would have been the reference point in this description. Hence it may be concluded that the west annex was not yet in existence and that it must have therefore been constructed between May, 1833, the time of the sale, and March, 1836, the date of the issuance of the second fire insurance policy.[27]

A noteworthy stylistic aspect of the west annex is the interest shown in increased lighting achieved through the use of the tripartite window plan. This is a popular Greek Revival feature of the 1830's which no doubt lent itself well to the functional office purposes for which this small structure was

[26] Records of Augustus Bouldin, Bureau of Building Construction, Baltimore (block 580).

[27] It must be noted that in comparing the actual measurements (12′ x 12′) of the west annex with those reported (12′ x 16′) in the fire insurance policy of 1836, a definite discrepancy appears which would at first suggest that the present west annex is not the same as the one huilt between 1833 and 1836. It seems more probable however that an error was made in recording the measurements in the policy since even the policy currently in effect (Baltimore Equitable Society, perpetual policy No. 41117, issued March 14, 1871) contains the same erroneous measurements. We know, from the Martinet sketch, that the present west annex was standing in 1873 and it seems unlikely that a replacement would have been necessary in so relatively short a span of time. Furthermore, the brickwork and other details of the present west annex correspond closely to those found in the other additions of the period; e.g., the window heads of the three additions are almost identical and contrast sharply with those of the original structures; the window sills of the several additions are all of the same size and are made of wood while in the original building, all sills are of stone. Finally, the stylistic evidence in the use of tripartite windows in the facade of the west annex would point to the 1830's as a probable construction date.

designed. Originally, there was no entrance to the office directly from the outside. In 1942, however, a doorway was cut through the central section of the first storey window, converting the arrangement into a doorway with sidelights.

With the completion of the west annex, the building activity of the second period came to a close. By this time the Rectory had assumed essentially its present appearance and for the first time something approaching a symmetrical balance of three members might be said to have been attained.[28]

## PERIOD III: 1836–1906

There is no evidence that any major structural work was carried out for many years after 1836. Undoubtedly, repairs and interior renovations did occur from time to time but few records are available to document the time or extent of any such work.[29]

It was probably in the early 1870's that the site was enclosed on the front and west side by a heavy ashlar retaining wall, about five feet in height, which is still standing. At the same time, the double stone stairway from the street level consisting of 13 steps, each averaging eight inches in height, was added, and the brick paths along the main approach from the sidewalk and around the house were first laid. These features, incident-

[28] This, of course, was merely an incomplete approach to balance, for the symmetrical effect was offset aesthetically by several important elements. For example, the west annex was both narrower and stylistically later than was the east annex. In addition, the Dorsey-Hopkins Town House, a splendid Greek Revival mansion of the early 1830's, stood immediately to the east of the Rectory complex, in the approximate position of Building B (Fig. 5), the original service building of the Rectory, thus further detracting from the total effect of symmetry. See above, note 23.

[29] A listing in the Baltimore *Sun* (Tuesday, July 29, 1873, p. 1. The fire brought almost complete destruction to that area lying immediately southwest of the Rectory and bounded by Howard, Saratoga, Liberty and Lexington Streets) of the buildings burned in the 1873 fire indicates that the parsonage was "slightly damaged." The claim for $188.78 was settled on September 6, 1873, and the insert on the fire insurance policy (No. 41117, issued March 14, 1871, by the Baltimore Equitable Society) states that "the roof of the Parsonage . . . was on fire several times although of tin." The Vestry records for the period after 1878 indicate that numerous interior repairs had been made from time to time. Apparently these were extensive, for in a report of some of the work directed by the Church in the period from 1871-1906, the Rev. Dr. J. S. B. Hodges stated that "During these years the Rectory was at a considerable expense, modernized and repaired" at a total cost for the period amounting to $2,700.00, Cf. J. S. B. Hodges, *Some of the Work of St. Paul's Church during a Rectorship of thirty-five years, 1871-1905* (Baltimore, 1907), pp. 6-7, 11.

ally, are shown on the Martinet sketch of 1873 and therefore must have been completed by that time.

The final structural addition to the Rectory came in 1906, just prior to the occupancy by a new Rector, at which time a

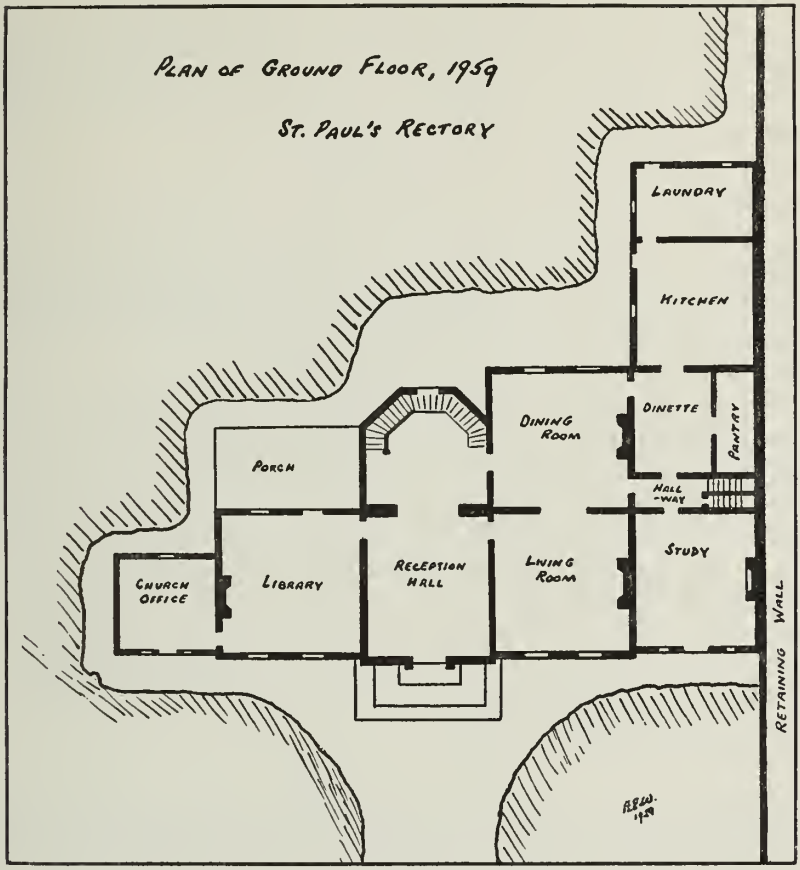



FIG. 8. GROUND FLOOR, 1959.

large kitchen and laundry were built immediately behind the original east wing (fig. 8), a steam heating system installed and the interior remodelled.[30] No further structural work was carried out until 1942 when the doorway of the west wing was cut into the exterior wall, as noted earlier.

[30] Cf. *The Sun,* October 21, 1906, Baltimore, Maryland.

Figure 8 shows the floor plan of the first storey of the rectory in 1959 when it was still in use as the dwelling for the Rector. The original design can readily be discerned from the various additions of later years.

The plan of the second floor again shows the original design of the main house as well as the additions of 1827-1836 including the west wing, the play room of the east wing and the bedroom of the north extension. The plan of the original room east of the central hall reveals early alterations with the introduction of a narrow east-west hallway.[31]

The attic, originally unfinished, has been divided into a series of rooms by light partitions which are believed to date from the early 20th century. An interesting feature of the attic is the narrow room of wooden construction which is situated at the extreme northwest corner of the plan and which overhangs the first and second storey rear porches below.

The cellar includes a large room east of the octagonal bay, comparable in position to the first floor dining room of the north extension which as we have seen dates between 1827 and 1829. Structural details of this cellar room are identical with those of the remainder of the cellar plan and suggest that the room was definitely a part of the original construction, even though the same scheme was not duplicated in the stories above until later. A long narrow arched tunnel leads from the street level to the east front room of the cellar and was no doubt designed originally as a route for the delivery of fuel and household supplies into the house.

Stylistically, the building is conservative and belongs to the end of the late Georgian period, yet Early Republican characteristics are to be noted in the slender proportions of the mouldings and the strong emphasis on the central section of the facade (fig. 1). Particularly interesting is the brickwork which readily exhibits the careful and precise craftsmanship found in much colonial construction in Maryland and vicinity. The pink bricks are smooth in texture and are laid in Flemish

[31] This original room on the east is noteworthy in that it was here in 1808 that the House of Bishops met. Cf. Arthur B. Kinsolving, *A Short History of Saint Paul's Parish* (Baltimore, 1939 privately printed), p. 22.

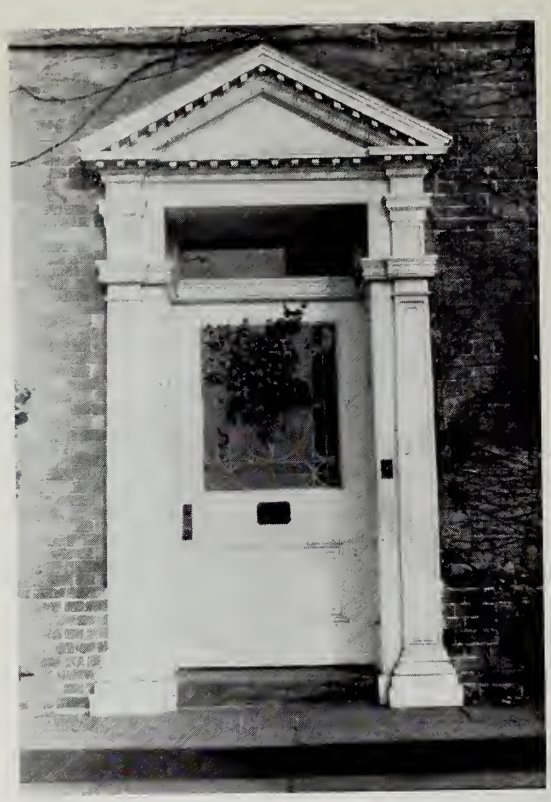


Fig. 9. Central Doorway, 1959.

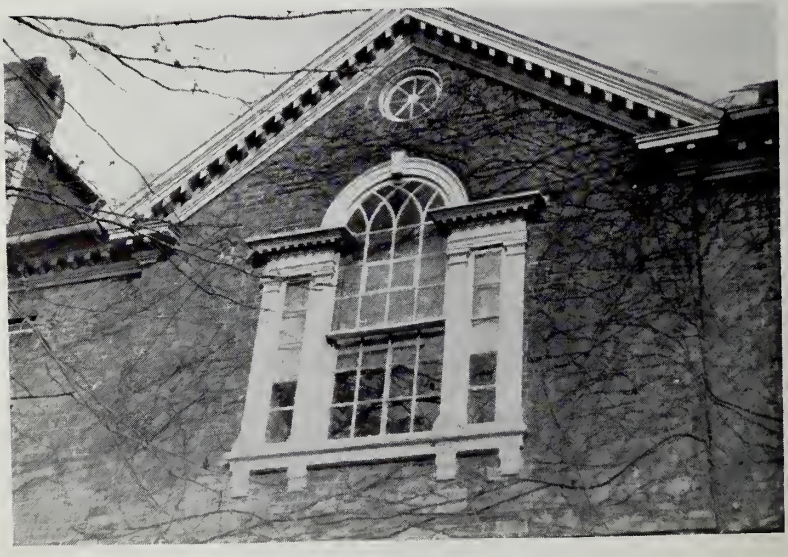


Fig. 10. Palladian Window, 1959.

bond with joints struck evenly and averaging less than 5/16 of an inch in thickness.[32]

Flat arch window-heads are used throughout and, except for those of white stone over the cellar along the facade, are constructed of rubbed and closely fitted pink brick more delicate in tone than the brick used elsewhere in the building. Thus, quite characteristic of the Georgian tradition in the South, the window-heads serve both to accent the windows as well as to furnish a refreshing color contrast over the surface of the building. A brick water table runs across the original structures, forty inches above ground level on the main building and thirty inches on the easy wing, but is altogether absent from the several later additions. Separating the first storey from the second is a narrow string course, eight inches wide, running across the front of the main house. The face of the central portion of the main building projects $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches beyond the adjacent faces while the east and west wings recede $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the facade of the parsonage proper.

A point of special interest is the central doorway (fig. 9) which, with the handsome pseudo-classic enframement, is divided vertically into three principal zones, *viz.*, the portal proper, the rectangular transom, and the crowning triangular pediment. The entrance has a deep reveal of $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches and is flanked by panelled pilaster columns, each presenting a gentle parabolic entasis and resting on a high base 14 inches wide. The flat broad capitals above the pilasters are decorated with a lozenge design moulding which, in a single continuous band, is carried across the jambs to underscore the transom. These decorated capitals support small panelled impost blocks which flank the transom and which in turn support an elaborately carved triangular pediment with a modillion cornice.

Certainly the most unusual feature of the doorway is the appearance of the rectangular transom at this early date. Although the doorway is otherwise essentially conservative in style, it is indeed among the earliest of the oblong transom doorways which extend directly down into the Greek Revival at which time, as Howland and Spencer have already pointed out, the transom used in this manner becomes a distinguishing

[32] Three distinct sizes, measuring approximately $8\frac{3}{8}'' \times 4'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$, $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ and $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$, can be identified.

aspect of so many of the early 19th century town houses in and around Baltimore.[33] The same forward-looking feature, though executed in a somewhat less refined manner, is found over the door of the east wing which is contemporary with the main parsonage house. Both transoms are indicated on the Ruckle painting of 1801 (cover) and its clear that they were originally divided into several panes by narrow vertical muntins.

Above the doorway is the very splendid Palladian window (fig. 10) trimmed with classic motifs. An unusual feature here is the projection of the semi-circular window head into the attic level. Above the Palladian window is a small circular window, 24 inches in diameter, located in the triangular gable of the attic.

Throughout the structure, widow decoration is plain and without distinction. Stone window sills are found on all of the original widows while the sills of the later additions are of wood. Dormers are set in the roof, one on either side of the central gable, and one atop the east wing, probably added when the second storey of the east wing was built between 1827 and 1829. In the rear there is one dormer above the octagonal bay and two others over the later additions to the east of the bay. An end chimney with two flues rises from the west wall of the original main building while two single chimneys are found on the east end and one chimney at the east end wall of the east wing.

The west annex is of no special architectural interest. Although it now serves to balance the east wing, it is later than most of the building and, as noted earlier, reflects the Greek Revival taste in the use of the sidelight motif.

One of the most striking aspects of the interior of the Rectory is the great transverse elliptical arch (fig. 7) which divides the deep central hall into two large sections. The arch is supported by heavy buttressed foundation walls in the cellar and in turn lends structural support to the side walls of the hall. The ornamentation of the arch reflects the growing taste for simplicity which comes with Early Republican interiors. Beyond the arch is the sweeping staircase which, from the west wall, winds continuously up to the attic, always following the

[33] Richard H. Howland and Eleanor P. Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 9.

contours of the octagonal structure which surrounds it. The spindle posts are slender and are fashioned after modified doric-tuscan columns. Each rests on a high base, there being three spindles to each tread. The ends of the risers bear a simple reverse-spiral design. The bannister rail is elliptical in cross-section and terminates in a simple unpretentious newel post instead of the voluted type commonly found at this time. A dado three feet above the base level of the treads runs throughout the length of the staircase.

Eight fireplaces are contained within the house, including the one in the east room of the cellar. The mantlepieces in the parlor and library on the first floor are perhaps the finest in the house. Both have supporting columns which repeat the staircase post design. The mantles of the first and second storey rooms in the east wing probably date from the late 1820's and are especially interesting because of their severe simplicity in styling. Each consists of a shallow board, eight inches deep, supported by flat uprights and unornamented end brackets shaped as elliptical quadrants.

While on the exterior the Palladian window reflects an emphasis on classic detail and refinement, on the interior, ornament is altogether eliminated, the interest of the window resting solely on its "openness," permitting originally a complete and grand view of the Baltimore harbor and admitting an abundance of light into the second storey hall. One of the unusual features of this window is the elimination of the central semi-circle from the interior design.

In general, the interior decoration of the house is simple and unpretentious though always dignified. Such simplicity is sometimes a clear indication of the fresh interest in classic refinement which typifies the transition to Early Republican decorative styling. However, in addition, other factors may well have contributed to the modesty and simplicity to be noted in this case. Among these certainly must be considered the limited financial means available at the time of the original construction as well as the intrinsic tendency, which one might expect in a church-sponsored project of this type, to avoid excesses.

## SUMMARY

Although the names of neither the designer nor the builder of the Rectory are known, it is apparent that men of unusual skill and sound training were employed, for the original building unquestionably represents excellent American craftsmanship executed with refined taste and in many respects with a good deal of imagination. At the same time, the work remains largely within the ambiguous limits of a kind of transitional formula of *Late Georgian-Early Republican* expression. For stylistically, the design of the building seems to have been conceived in terms of certain well-preserved traditional characteristics of the Late Georgian manor type and may at first have been intended as a balanced Palladian composition which, perhaps because of a preference for emplacement, never quite attained an entirely satisfactory state of fulfillment.

Although the original structure was essentially a conservative achievement, certain interior details such as are found in the repeated emphasis on semi-elliptical forms (*e. g.,* the central hallway arch, the cross-section of the bannister, *etc.*) bear witness to Early Republican tastes. Exterior ornamentation is concentrated almost entirely on the central section of the facade, the principal element there being a pedimental doorway with a rectangular transom which, at this early date, clearly represents experimentation in the use of a motif which was later to become a distinguishing feature of the portals of early 19th century Baltimore town houses. In plan, by far the most striking element is the octagonal stair tower which projects from the rear of the building at the end of the central hall.

During the period from 1829 and 1836, the building underwent extensive alterations. These included the razing of the two-storey pavilion at the far east end of the complex, the addition of a second storey to the east wing and the construction of a rear extension to the north and an office annex on the west. No particular structural or stylistic aspects of these additions, however, merit special note, except that in the program of expansion, the rectory took on a pseudo-balanced facade plan which it has retained down to the present time.

# THE STATE IN THE MARYLAND ECONOMY, 1776–1807

By Mary Jane Dowd

*(Continued from June)*

## 4

### Corporate Privileges and State Participation

Before 1800 Maryland had incorporated six insurance companies: only Rhode Island, among the other states, had chartered as many. In 1807 there were ten such companies chartered by the Maryland General Assembly.

By the end of the eighteenth century two types of insurance business had become important in the American states. Marine insurance, which had been carried on in America by private underwriters or partnerships since the 1720's, became increasingly essential with the growth of American shipping after the Revolution. Insurance against fire usually had not been necessary in the early eighteenth century. Then, as more and more people crowded into towns, which were often composed principally of wooden buildings, state governments sought measures for protection against destruction of life and property.[199] This public concern probably accounts for the appearance of the corporate form of organization in the field of fire insurance before its appearance in marine insurance underwriting.

Fire insurance companies, of which Maryland had five, were chartered either as mutual or joint-stock companies. The "Baltimore Insurance Fire Company," the first in the United

[199] Joseph S. Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1917), II, 31; Oscar and Mary Handlin, *Commonwealth; A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy: Massachusetts, 1774-1861* (New York, 1947), p. 137. There was little life insurance underwriting in eighteen-century Europe or America.

States to be chartered on a joint-stock basis, was incorporated on May 21, 1787.[200] Those desiring incorporation declared that its "Establishment . . . would greatly alleviate the distress of, & afford immediate relief to, sufferers thereby." Its capital was to be not less than £10,000 current money ($26,666.67) in shares of £100 and the company was empowered to insure any dwelling or other building within the state or elsewhere, but it was not answerable for losses exceeding £5 of every £100 value of a building insured by them. And the company was not liable for losses exceeding its capital.[201]

Arrangements regarding capital were unusual. Actually there was no paid-up capital. When £10,000 had been pledged, the subscribers were to give promissory notes in amounts of £40, 30, 20, 10 on each share, payable on demand and with appropriate security. When a fire loss was sustained by the company, the president was to call upon the stockholders, in proportion to the amount of stock they owned, for the amount necessary to cover the loss. If shareholders refused to comply within a certain specified time, their property could be attached. The company could also lend out money received as premiums.[202] In order to build a fund to pay losses, the company was to declare a dividend only once in five years.

On September 1 of the same year the company opened its office in Baltimore. "A Citizen" in the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette* congratulated his "fellow-citizens on the establishment of a *Fire Insurance* Company" because it would prove "highly beneficial." Furthermore he thought that the company was well-guarded against "fraudulent intentions of designing people." He also praised recent acts of the legislature which provided for the sinking of pumps in certain sections of Baltimore that had no water and another act which stipulated that every householder in the city must provide himself with two leather fire-buckets.[203]

Depite this auspicious beginning, four years later the stock-

[200] Davis, II, 238.
[201] *Md. Sess.*, 1787 Apr. c. 20. The stock of the company was not liable for attachment for private debts of members and was transferable.
[202] *Ibid.*
[203] B. *Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 24, 1787.

holders of the Baltimore Insurance Fire Company, informed the General Assembly that

> the capital of the . . . company consists of notes of hand, convertible only into money in cases of loss by fire, and that in the event of failure or bankruptcy among the stockholders, the insured might become considerable sufferers: — circumstances which, by affecting the solidity of the funds, operate to destroy the public confidence in the said institution.[204]

They asked for a new act of incorporation to "obviate the inconsistencies of the old one." The Maryland legislature granted a new charter under the name of the "Maryland Insurance Fire Company" with this corporation to have a capital of not more than $60,000. Although the arrangements regarding stock differed from those of the old company, they still remained peculiar by today's standards. Subscribers were to show evidence of owning $400 in the Bank of Maryland stock or in the public debt of the United States for each share in the new company that they wished to purchase. These securities were to be written on the books of the Bank of Maryland as belonging to the Maryland Insurance Fire Company. Yet the stockholders of the Fire Company were to receive dividends upon and continue to have the other privileges of the bank and public debt shares, including that of transfer. No stock was issued by the fire insurance company; rather it was the bank stock and debt shares which constituted the capital of the company.[205] As one contemporary letter to a newspaper noted, the objects in modifying the capital structure were to obtain a capital stock instantly convertible into specie, which at the same time, would not draw any specie out of circulation, and to obtain a capital stock of such a nature as to inspire in everyone the same confidence as specie.[206]

Provisions for making fire losses good, however, remained substantially the same as those of the old company: the president of the company was to call for a specified sum of money from each stockholder; and if it was not forthcoming, he was to sell the stock, the purchaser succeeding as stockholder. There were to be yearly dividends and triennial "exact

[204] *Md. Sess.*, 1791 c. 69. [205] *Ibid.*; Davis, II, 238-39. [206] *Md. J.*, Mar. 20, 1792.

and particular profit and loss accounts," to the stockholders' meeting.[207]

Testifying to the concern that the legislature felt for its duty to protect citizens against fire danger in Baltimore were the other privileges and duties conferred upon the company. This insurance company was to build a magazine for storing gunpowder; thereafter anyone in Baltimore keeping over thirty pounds of gunpowder, except at the magazine, would be fined £10 and have the powder confiscated. The company was allowed to charge for storing the powder but was also responsible for the powder unless it was destroyed by "providential or unavoidable" accident. In a supplement to its charter in 1792, the company was allowed to lease the powderhouse.[208]

As a further means of minimizing the fire danger the company was to regulate all the chimney sweeps in the town by controlling the number of sweeps and establishing their wages and working rules. No person was to sweep chimneys without a license from the fire insurance company. The sweeps were also bonded to cover the penalty of £100 for a chimney which caught fire within thirty days of being swept.

By a revision of the Maryland Insurance Fire Company's charter in 1792, a company to procure a water supply system for Baltimore was incorporated. The directors of the Insurance Company were to open a subscription for this company, but since the Baltimore Water Company was to be a separate organization, it will be discussed in the section on public service corporations.[209] Fire insurance companies in Baltimore, as well as public authorities, were vitally interested in a good water supply to protect their investment.

Organization of the Maryland Insurance Fire Company, undertaken early in 1792, was soon completed[210] and insurance rates were published in the Baltimore newspapers in June.[211]

[207] *Md. Sess.*, 1791 c. 69, Davis, II, 238.

[208] All powder manufactured by or belonging to the gunpowder factory established by Robert Gilmor and Stephen Wilson could be stored at half-price in the magazine, *Md. Sess.*, 1792 c. 11.

[209] See below.

[210] *Md. J.* Jan. 6, 24, Mar. 6, Apr. 13, 1792. Many of those elected on Mar. 5 as directors were active as subscribers or directors of other incorporated companies and active in other forms of private enterprise in Baltimore.

[211] *Ibid.*, June 26, 1792; a notice of Apr. 12, 1793 stated that the rates given June 1792 applied only in towns where there were well established fire companies.

Shortly before, the president and directors had published the chimney sweeping regulations for Baltimore; the town was divided east and west (of Jones' Falls) and a supervisor appointed for each section; chimneys were to be swept every month, and the rates for sweeping were to be determined by the height of the chimney.[212]

Giving every assurance of being a permanent addition to Baltimore, the company received permission from the legislature in 1799 to purchase a lot in Baltimore on which to erect a building.[213] But Thomas Griffith, one of the earliest authorities on Baltimore City, states in his *Annals* that in 1807 the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company succeeded the Maryland Fire Insurance Company which in 1791 had itself succeeded the Baltimore Insurance Fire Company.[214]

The act of incorporation of the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company (1807), in contrast to that of the Maryland Insurance Fire Company, mentions nothing about a reorganization or a division of the profits of the old company; [215] and Scharf, who wrote his history of Baltimore when the company was still in existence, says nothing about it succeeding any other corporation.[216]

Its capital of $500,000 was considerably larger than that of either of the former companies, and it was allowed to make insurance on lives, transportation of goods and "country produce" as well as on fire risks. Its capital structure was of a more common type than that of either of its predecessors. Five dollars on each fifty-dollar share was to be paid at the time of subscription and the remainder was to be paid in installments of not more than $10 when called for by the president and directors. Dividends were to be declared not oftener than once in six months. The stock of the company was to be considered

[212] *Ibid.*, May 22, 1792, Jan. 10, 1794. The sweeps were to be distinguished by a leather cap with a brass letter E or W for eastern or western district.

[213] *Md. Sess.*, 1799 c. 22.

[214] Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), p. 120.

[215] *Md. Sess.*, 1807 c. 68.

[216] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Philadelphia, 1881), II, 483. However that may be, under this name the company continued successfully for almost a century until forced into receivership because of losses sustained as a result of the Baltimore fire of 1904. The Maryland Historical Society has the MSS "Minute Book of the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company 1808-1876," 2 vols.

personalty and was transferable. The company was chartered until 1820.

Of the mutual companies, the other class of fire insurance companies chartered by the Maryland legislature, only the Baltimore Equitable Society is doing business today. In fact, it is the only insurance company, fire or marine, chartered between 1777 and 1807 which is in existence in Maryland at present. The company was organized in February 1794 by a group of Baltimore businessmen when a "Deed of Settlement of the Society for Insuring Homes in and near Baltimore" was adopted by them. By March 4 the Society advertised that they were open for business.[217]

That year the stockholders applied for incorporation, and a charter for the "Baltimore Equitable Society for insuring houses from loss by fire" was passed on December 26 by the General Assembly, the charter closely following the wording of the Deed of Settlement. The preamble, repeating the purpose expressed in the Deed, stated that those forming the Society, having "taken into consideration the dangers to which houses are exposed by fire, and the calamitous consequences resulting therefrom," unanimously agreed to remedy those evils "so far as in our power lies, . . . by each indemnifying the other against such losses, and participating therein." [218]

The Equitable Society was to be a mutual company with no capital stock. The Society was to be a local one, its business being limited to the city and five miles around it. Any Baltimore house owner who deposited a certain premium would receive a policy for seven years and would become a member of the Society. In houses in which a hazardous business was conducted insurance was to be granted only on special terms.[219]

Whenever a fire loss among the members occurred, the president of the Society would set the rate of contribution for members (not more than one-half of the deposit for a single

[217] *Md. J.*, Feb. 28, Mar. 28, 1794.

[218] *Md. Sess.*, 1794 c. 39.

[219] Among such businesses listed in the charter were the following: "brewhouse, bake-house, coopers or joiner's shop, apothecary, chymist, ship chandler, tallow chandler, stablekeeper, innholders, malthouses, or store houses for hemp, flax, tallow, pitch, tar, turpentine, hay, straw and fodder."

fire). At the end of the seven-year policy period, the deposit together with a "proportional dividend of the profits," after deducting any losses, service charges, and office expenses, was to be returned to the policy holder.[220]

One interesting article in the charter empowered the directors of the company to invest their funds in stock of the Bank of the United States or to lend out their money on sixty-day promissory notes. Under these provisions the insurance society might have opened a bank, as did some companies in other cities. The latter companies were chartered to do one kind of business but construed their charters liberally, e.g., the Manhattan Company of New York, a water-supply company, which soon found the banking business less troublesome and more profitable. Like the Manhattan Company, the Baltimore Equitable Society possessed a perpetual charter. But the Equitable Society has made fire insurance its sole concern for the one hundred sixty-seven years of its existence.

The only other mutual fire insurance company, "The Georgetown Mutual Insurance Company against Fire on Houses, Goods and Furniture," chartered by the General Assembly before 1807, soon passed out of the jurisdiction of Maryland, but it is considered here because it was created by the state of Maryland. Some of its provisions differ from those of the Baltimore Equitable Society, and these differences illustrate that, at least in the field of mutual fire insurance incorporations, the Maryland legislature did not follow set patterns or models but often shaped the company in accordance with its own by-laws or articles of association, such as the Baltimore Equitable Company's Deed of Settlement.

Property worth $100,000 was to be subscribed before the Georgetown Company could organize, but there was no stock, since operations were on a mutual basis. Losses were to be

[220] *Ibid.*, and "Address to Members. Centennial. Baltimore Equitable Society, 1794-1894." Maryland Collection, Enoch Pratt Free Library. If ever a fire loss amounted to more than the "whole stock," only a just portion of the whole stock was to be assessed. The company worked under the seven year mutual plan for seventy years; in 1865 they began their present practice of issuing perpetual policies with no dividend in order to provide greater security for the company by creating a fund to repay large losses. This farsighted policy amply rewarded the company in 1904 when the Baltimore Equitable Society was one of the few insurance companies able to survive the Baltimore fire and pay its losses.

covered by premiums paid in at the time of insuring and if those were insufficient, by proportionate assessments on the members. In order that the funds secured from premiums would not "lie idle," a majority of stockholders was to decide how to employ the money so as "to produce interest." They were at liberty to choose any method not contrary to the laws of Maryland—which might have included banking. Unlike the Baltimore Equitable Society provisions were made for the Georgetown Mutual to insure persons who did not desire to join the mutual and share the risk.[221]

All except one of the fire insurance companies were located in Baltimore, and all did predominently local business. Most of these companies were financially successful as well as fairly long-lived. Their dividends were large but fluctuated somewhat more than those of banks.[222] But all the fire companies, no matter how short a time they survived, fulfilled a genuine need in Maryland's largest city.

There was no public necessity for incorporating companies to insure ships and cargo as there had been for insuring homes from fire. Throughout the eighteenth century marine risks were split among interested merchants. It was only at the end of the century that some found it more profitable to associate formally for the purpose.[223] With improved organization of marine insurance underwriting, merchants no longer needed to give their time to underwriting, only their money.

Although Baltimore shipping grew tremendously after the Revolution, the Maryland legislature chartered no marine insurance companies until 1795. In that year the General Assembly incorporated two rival ones, "The Baltimore Insurance Company" and "The Maryland Insurance Company." Both companies had been organized before applying to the legislature for incorporation. Although the charters were issued on the same day, they were not similar. Here again the legislature seems to have had no preconceived idea of the characteristics of an insurance company; where a society or joint-stock company already existed, it preferred to incorporate the company under its own rules and regulations. The Baltimore Insurance Company had a capital of $300,000, a somewhat re-

[221] *Md. Sess.*, 1798 c. 77. [222] Davis, II, 245. [223] *Ibid.*, II, 233.

gressive voting system,[224] and a limit on the amount of insurance on any one ship. This company distributed a half-yearly dividend. The Maryland Insurance Company possessed a capital of $500,000, a one vote-per-share voting system, but no person could hold more than ten shares, and no stated limit on the amount of its insurance. Its dividend was distributed annually.[225] The company could also lend money on "bottomry" and "respondentia."[226]

Perhaps the most interesting difference between the two companies was the capital formation of each. Nominally the capital of the Maryland Insurance Company was larger, but only one-tenth ($50,000) of that company's was to be paid up. The Baltimore Insurance Company's capital of $400,000 was to be fully paid up by 1797: $20,000 of it was to be kept in deposit to answer claims: the remaining $280,000 was to be invested in stock of the Bank of the United States, of any Maryland bank, or of the public debt.[227] No such fund was provided for in the charter of the Maryland Insurance Company.

About the only features held in common by the two companies were the duration of their charters, nine years each, and the fact that quite a few prominent Baltimoreans had purchased stock in both companies.[228] However, by successive revisions of its charter, the Baltimore Insurance Company increased and liberalized its powers almost to the extent of those possessed by its rival. It was allowed to increase the number of shares that one person might hold from ten to fifty, make short-term loans from its surplus funds, and increase the amounts and types of its marine insurances.[229] No revisions

[224] A system of voting stock, intended to lessen the power of large stockholders, where the number of votes diminishes in proportion to the number of shares held, acording to a predetermined scheme. Good examples of regressive stock voting schemes of this period are to be found in the constitution of the first Bank of the United States and the charter of the Bank of Baltimore, *Md. Sess.*, 1795 c. 27.

[225] *Ibid.*, 1795 c. 59, 60.

[226] Respondentia is a loan upon goods laden on a ship to be repaid, with interest, only in the event of the safe arrival of some part of the goods. It differs from bottomry which is a loan with the ship as security.

[227] The Maryland Historical Society has a MS "Account Book 1796-7" of the Baltimore Insurance Company, which shows it to have invested its surplus capital in the stock of the U.S. Bank, the Bank of Maryland, and the Bank of Baltimore.

[228] *Md. Sess.*, 1795 c. 59, 60.

[229] *Ibid.*, 1796 c. 63, 1798 c. 6, 1804 c. 37, 1807 c. 70.

were made in the Maryland Insurance Company's charter. Both companies petitioned the General Assembly in 1804 for renewal of their charters, which were accordingly extended until 1820.[230]

Another group of joint-stock marine insurance companies was given corporate privileges at the 1804 Assembly session. Like the other chartered marine insurance companies, all three had been organized under articles of association before petitioning for incorporation and were chartered until 1820.

Established with a capital of $60,000, The Union Insurance Company was to make marine, fire, and life insurance and lend money on "bottomry" and "respondentia." The stockholders were to have as many votes as shares, but no one person was to hold more than ten shares. No corporation or body politic was to be a member. A yearly dividend, consisting of no more than two-thirds of the profits, was to be declared. One-third of the profit was to be added annually to the capital stock and invested in banks or "public stocks." Because it was thought that the "security of the insured and the stability" of the company would greatly depend upon the stockholders being persons of "sufficient property to make good any losses," a provision was inserted to have the board of directors approve each transfer of stock.[231]

The second company to be incorporated that year, "The Marine Insurance Company," had a capital of only $40,000. Yet among its leading stockholders were such men as Robert Gilmor (president of the company), Robert Oliver, Alexander Brown, William Patterson, Jr., Solomon Etting, and James McHenry, some of the wealthiest merchants and most important men in Baltimore. The provisions of its charter were identical to those of the Union Company except that the number of shares to be held by one person was twenty, twice that of the Union Company.[232]

Largest of the three companies was "The Chesapeake Insurance Company" with a capital of $600,000. It was to make all kinds of marine insurance. One-tenth of its capital was to be paid up: the other nine-tenths to be paid up only in case of loss. Two-thirds of the paid-up capital was to be invested

[230] *Ibid.*, 1804 c. 37, 106. [231] *Ibid.*, 1804 c. 41. [232] *Ibid.*, c. 60.

in the shares of the public debt of United States or of bank stock, the rest as most advantageous to the company. There were no provisions concerning approval for stock transfers. Dividends were to be declared every six months.[233]

By 1807 Maryland had chartered two mutual fire companies (including the one in Georgetown), three joint-stock fire companies, and the five joint-stock companies which wrote fire, life, and marine insurance, the latter type predominating. The capital of several of the joint-stock companies came nearest to rivaling the size of that of the banks, the largest companies measured by capital. They fared almost as well financially as the banks.[234]

None of the unincorporated insurance corporations or societies which came to the General Assembly for incorporation invited the state government to subscribe for their stock. And never, in any of the charters granted to these companies, did the General Assembly encourage these corporations by reserving any of their stock for the state. No device other than the privileges conferred by the incorporation itself was ever offered by the state.

Close relations existed between insurance companies and banks at this time. Where there were banks, insurance premiums were usually paid with bank notes. Insurance companies often had surplus funds to invest or deposit for safe keeping, and in the first insurance charters only banks and national debt shares were considered suitable investments. The relationship tended to be even closer because the merchant class who required both services usually controlled both.[235] Robert Gilmor, Robert Oliver, and William Patterson—just to take three of the most prominent Baltimore merchants — were stockholders or directors of many of the leading banks and insurance companies chartered in Maryland after the Revolution.

[233] *Ibid.*, c. 77. How long these three companies existed is a subject of some disagreement. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore,* (Baltimore, 1824), p. 152 says they were soon discontinued, while Brantz Mayer in *Baltimore: Past and Present,* (Baltimore, 1871), p. 64 says that all three companies paid enormous dividends to stockholders. There seem to be no records of the companies' existence, except one policy of the Chesapeake Company issued in 1805, now in the Maryland Collection, Enoch Pratt Free Library.

[234] Davis, II, 245-46.

[235] *Ibid.*

During the Revolution Maryland made an attempt to launch a bank. The preamble of the June 1780 act establishing the bank declared that "many citizens of this state would pledge their property and credit to the establishment of a bank, for the purpose of procuring . . . supplies for the army, if this State would become security for their indemnification and repayment." It was actually no more than a subscription for specie to buy military supplies and was to end when that purpose had been accomplished. Similar in conception to the so-called "Philadelphia Bank" of 1780, whose subscribers were guaranteed by the Continental Congress, the Maryland subscription bank was, unlike the Pennsylvania one, never undertaken.[236] In 1782 the first attempt to incorporate a bank in Maryland failed when the House of Delegates rejected James McHenry's bill "to establish the credit of a bank" in Baltimore.[237] But because commerce developed rapidly after the Revolution, commercial transactions were made difficult by the limited circulation of foreign coins and depreciated paper and by the refusal of the Maryland legislature to issue more paper money. The value of banks for promoting further commercial development in Maryland gained more adherents as other states, such as Massachusetts, incorporated state banks modeled on the great national banks of England and the Continent.

In 1784 the agitation for a bank in Baltimore was renewed. Proposals for a Bank of Maryland were published and subscriptions were solicited. A bank with a capital of $300,000, to be subscribed in gold and silver, was proposed and quickly subscribed. However there was much opposition to the plan. The agrarians thought the short-term loans and the drawing of specie to Baltimore would work to their disadvantage. The speculators, who hoped for and preferred a state issue of paper money, and the antimonpolists, who found that the proposed bank's three hundred shares of stock were held by only seventeen people, also opposed the plan.[238] The bill introduced in

[236] *Md. Sess.*, 1780 June c. 28, Davis, II, 35.

[237] Alfred C. Bryan, *History of State Banking in Maryland*, Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, XVII (Baltimore, 1899 Nos. 1-3), p. 133.

[238] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18. B. *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 5, 1784, "Proposals for Establishing a Bank at Baltimore."

the legislature was tabled and no further attempts were made to establish a bank in Maryland for six years.

In 1790 a demand for American foodstuffs, occasioned by the outbreak of war in Europe, spurred the business revival. Since Maryland had not issued any paper money after the Revolution, credit and circulation facilities for handling the upsurge, which soon reached all forms of industry and commerce, proved to be inadequate.[239] This time the advocates of a bank did not organize a bank before petitioning the legislature, probably, as Bryan says, to avoid a notoriety that might prejudice their chances of incorporation.[240]

As the first incorporation of a bank in Maryland, the Bank of Maryland Act of 1790 deserves some scrutiny. The charter itself was in "brief, general, and plenary terms," unlike the later Maryland banks which took as a model the more "lengthy, detailed," and "restrictive" language of the charter of the Bank of the United States.[241] The bank of Maryland possessed the same amount of capital that had been proposed for it in 1784, a perpetual charter, a somewhat regressive stock voting system, limited liability, limits on its debt and issues, and no requirement to make any reports to the legislature. The state had reserved no stock in the bank for itself, so perhaps it felt reports to the Assembly unnecessary. Chosen quarterly from among the directors, a committee of three was to inspect the accounts of the bank weekly.[242]

By the end of the next year sufficient stockholders had paid up to enable the Bank of Maryland to organize and open for business in Baltimore. Among its famous subscribers were William Patterson (its president); James Carey, Samuel Smith, Robert Oliver, Robert Gilmor, Alexander McKim, Richard

[239] Bryan, pp. 18-19. Credit certificates on tobacco, which were exchangeable for bills on London, could be obtained after inspection by state officials who listed the quality and quantity of tobacco. At this time, however, wheat and flour exports exceeded tobacco, and although these products were inspected for purity, no certificates were issued.

[240] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[241] Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton, 1957), p. 129. The Bank of Maryland Act was passed December 14, 1790, the same day that Alexander Hamilton submitted his "Report on a National Bank" to Congress.

[242] *Md. Sess.*, 1790 c. 5, Bryan, pp. 29-30. No allotment of shares to be subscribed by people in counties outside Baltimore City was made, as was the practice in later Maryland banks.

Caton, John O'Donnell (directors); Samuel Sterrett, John and Andrew Ellicott, Thorogood Smith (later mayor of Baltimore), James Calhoun, (first mayor), John Eager Howard, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton.[243] Almost immediately the Bank began declaring an average dividend of twelve per cent a year which it continued to do until the creation of more banks in the city lowered its profits a little.[244]

A few years later, there was a serious effort to augment the capital of the bank because many in Baltimore felt that the trade of the city could support a bank with a capital of $2,000,000 instead of $300,000. Even with the establishment of a Baltimore City branch of the United States Bank in 1792, with a capital of about $500,000, the agitation continued. Those who feared that adding to the capital of the Bank of Maryland would create a monopoly favored the establishment of another bank in Baltimore.[245]

Before that was accomplished, the Maryland legislature created a bank in Georgetown to aid in the preparation of the District of Columbia for occupancy by the national government. The Bank of Columbia, incorporated in 1793, with a capital of $100,000, was similar in structure to the Bank of Maryland except that it possessed a charter, which could be revoked by Congress when it assumed jurisdicition of the district.[246] Allowed by the charter to subscribe to shares for the benefit of the City of Washington, the City Commissioners paid for one thousand fifty-three shares. Surviving until 1827, the Bank of Columbia was used both as a public depository and a public agent for making payments.[247]

Instead of doubling the capital of the Bank of Maryland, the General Assembly issued a charter in 1795 for a new and entirely separate institution which was to be known as the Bank of Baltimore. Much discussion in newspapers and pamphlets pointed out the advantages of many banks for stimulating industry, extending commerce, making the balance of trade more favorable to the United States, and lowering the interest

[243] B. *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 4, 1791, *Md. J.*, Mar. 9, 1792.
[244] *Ibid.*, Mar. 20, Sept. 7, 1792, Mar. 15, Sept. 10, 1793, Mar. 12, Sept. 5, 1794.
[245] *Ibid.*, Mar. 23, Dec. 24, 1792. Bryan, p. 20.
[246] *Md. Sess.*, 1793 c. 30, 1795 c. 77, *Md. J.*, Jan. 1, 1794.
[247] Davis, II, 97.

rate.[248] Proposals were soon submitted to the legislature for a bank with capital of $3,000,000 to be ultimately raised to $9,000,000 as the trade of Baltimore should demand. The planners also offered stock in the new company to the state and proposed a union of the two banks if both consented.[249]

The charter as issued by the Assembly reduced the capital to no more than $1,200,000. The House of Delegates gave special attention to the form of this charter and later it was used as a model for other bank charters.[250] It differed considerably from the charters of the banks of Maryland and Columbia and seems to have drawn some of its provisions from those of the Bank of the United States. Like it, the Bank of Baltimore was to have a charter of limited duration (twenty years), an identical regressive stock voting system to limit the power of the majority stockholders, compulsory rotation of directors, limits prescribed to the debts of the bank and its issues, personal liability of directors for debts exceeding a limited amount, and semi-annual dividends. Additional similarities were the requirements providing for governmental ownership of stock and appointment of a certain number of directors, governmental inspection of the bank's books, and governmental permission for public loans of more than a certain amount.[251] In order to avoid Baltimore City ownership of the Bank of Baltimore, the capital was allotted to be subscribed among the counties. This further differentiated it from the Bank of Maryland.[252]

Opposition from the Potomac Company and from Annapolis, which always feared Baltimore as a trade rival, hindered subscriptions but in a short time the bank was able to organize. It has done business on the same corner for one hundred sixty-six years—since 1930 under the name of the Union Trust

[248] [James McHenry], *A Brief Exposition of the Leading Principles of a Bank* (Baltimore, 1795) *passim;* Bryan, p. 21.

[249] *Federal Intelligencer and Baltimore Daily Gazette,* Apr. 30, 1795.

[250] Bryan, p. 21.

[251] *Md. Sess.,* 1795 c. 27 and "Constitution of the Bank of the United States" in the "Report on a National Bank," Dec. 14, 1790, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton,* ed. Henry Cabot Lodge (New York, 1904), Federal Edition, III, 431-37. Bryan, p. 16, finds the influence of the Bank of the United States on the Bank of Baltimore "not great," but an examination of the two charters discloses more similarities than Bryan notes. The only important differences pertained to branches for the Bank of the United States and public debt shares forming part of its capital.

[252] Bryan, p. 29.

Company.[253] By 1807 the state had paid $106,200 for three hundred fifty-four of its allotted six hundred shares of Bank of Baltimore stock, had appointed its two directors, and had collected a yearly dividend of about ten per cent on its investment.[254]

Almost a decade passed before the legislature incorporated any other banks. During this time there was growing fear of the progress of Baltimore's chief trade competitors, Philadelphia and New York. It was often pointed out that Pennsylvania had six banks, four of which were located in Philadelphia, with a total capital of $10,000,000 and that New York had seven banks with a combined capital of $6,500,000. By contrast Baltimore (and Maryland) had only two banks whose combined capitals totalled $1,500,000 ($2,000,000 if the capital of the United States Branch Bank was included). It was thought that trade, already hurt by the peace in Europe, was being drawn from Baltimore by the superior credit facilities of Philadelphia and New York. Many Baltimoreans were also dissatisfied because the two banks in Baltimore had a policy of making loans on the basis of friendship rather than on that of sound business principles.[255]

On February 24, 1804, articles of association for the Union Bank of Maryland appeared in the Baltimore *Federal Gazette* and the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*. When the books were opened for subscriptions in April, the amount necessary to organize was collected in one day. The Union Bank began business in June 1804, thus being the first bank in Maryland to commence operations without first securing a charter. It immediately applied to the legislature for incorporation and thereby stirred the opposition of friends of the old banks who wished to retain their monopoly of banking, their high dividends of ten and twelve per cent, and their appreciating stock.

In the midst of this controversy, another unincorporated bank, The Farmers Bank in Annapolis, began operations; and it, too, petitioned the General Assembly for corporate privi-

[253] Davis, II, 98; Union Trust Company of Maryland, *One Hundred Fifty Years of Banking*, 1795-1945 (n. p., 1946).

[254] *Md. Sess.*, 1802 c. 58, 1803 Resolutions, 1804 Resolutions, A. *Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 12, 1807.

[255] Bryan, pp. 21-22, 36.

leges.[256] The *Federal Gazette* of Baltimore reported that the two banks were able to obtain their charters by combining their forces and working for each other in the legislature. Although there was no direct bribery as in other states, the Union Bank's charter allotted shares to the counties and then made the state's legislators comissioners in charge of stock subscriptions.[257]

The Union Bank's charter provided for a capital of $3,000,000, the same amount as that of the unincorporated company. Otherwise, the charter was similar to that of the Bank of Baltimore.[258] Of the five thousand shares of stock reserved for the state, Maryland had subscribed to $42,400, or four hundred shares by 1807 and was receiving a yearly dividend of nine per cent.[259] The Union Bank is still active in the city, tracing its history through successive mergers as the National Bank of Baltimore, the Fidelity Baltimore Bank, and since 1960 as the Baltimore National Bank.

Chartered at the same session of Assembly, the Farmers Bank was incorporated to satisfy demands for a different type of bank. Up to 1804 all the banks chartered by Maryland had been for Baltimore City and had done only commercial banking. The agricultural interests complained that the short discount time of the Baltimore banks had prevented any agricultural loans. In addition, those portions of Maryland—particularly Annapolis—which resented Baltimore's command of the money market and the trade of the state were anxious to experiment with the new type of bank.[260] The articles of association, which appeared in August 1804, proposed a bank at Annapolis, with a capital of $1,500,000 and a branch at Easton.[261]

Even after the Farmers Bank had secured its incorporation at the November 1804 session of Assembly, discussions on the necessity of a bank in Annapolis or Easton for the agricultural interest continued. Opponents of the bank argued that banks

[256] A. *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 1, 1804 p. 1.
[257] Bryan, pp. 23, 24.
[258] *Md. Sess.*, 1804, c. 48.
[259] *Ibid.*, Resolution No. 26, *A. Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 12, 1807.
[260] Bryan, pp. 23, 36.
[261] A. *Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 2, 1804, p. 1.

were conducted solely to aid commerce, that Annapolis and Easton not being commercial towns had no need for a bank, and that the agricultural interest neither required nor could support a bank. These objections were answered by showing the developing commerce of Annapolis and Easton, by suggesting Annapolis' ability to serve as Washington's port or a winter port for Baltimore, and by quoting Adam Smith and Sir James Steuart to prove the utility of banks and the necessity of credit based upon landed security for the improvement of agriculture.[262] The charter issued by the November 1804 session of the General Assembly for the Farmers Bank had proclaimed that both the agricultural and commercial interests of the state would be promoted by the establishment of this bank.

The charter of the Farmers Bank was somewhat similar to that of the Bank of Baltimore except that it provided for a branch bank at Easton to which two-fifths of the $1,200,000 capital would be allotted. The state of Maryland was entitled to subscribe one-third of the total capital, or $400,000 worth of stock, and to appoint eleven directors if it subscribed the whole sum.[263]

Several new features were introduced, most of them taken over from Scottish banking practice. Perhaps the explanation of these Scottish introductions may be found in the fact that John Muir, who became the bank's first president and was prominent in its organization, was a Scotsman who was probably familiar with that country's peculiar policies of "cash accounts" and paying interest on deposits.[264]

A "cash account" might be opened by any "farmer, mechanic or manufacturer of this state" for any amount from $100 to $1,000. Having done so, the depositor could draw or pay in any sum not less than $50 at any one time. Settlements were to be made semi-annually. Sums borrowed were to be returned to the bank with six per cent interest while any sums

[262] *Ibid.*, Apr. 18, 1805 "Observations on the Act to establish a bank and incorporate it, under the name of the Farmers Bank of Maryland," pp. 1-2.

[263] *Md. Sess.*, 1804 c. 61.

[264] John W. Randall, *The Farmers National Bank of Annapolis* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 22. Bryan, p. 14; also see Scottish banking principles introduced into Maryland banking by the writings of Adam Smith and Sir James Steuart which were widely quoted in newspapers and pamphlets favoring banks.

deposited in the account were to receive interest from the bank. The depositor had to give good real or personal security. Since this was another method of lending on land, the system seemed to be appropriate for the Farmers Bank and for Anne Arundel County, one of the most fertile and productive agricultural sections of the state. Four per cent interest on time deposits and three per cent on demand deposits were to be given.[265] These principles distinguished the Farmers Bank from any other bank in America.[266]

By 1807 the state had purchased $40,000 of stock (800 shares) in the Farmers Bank and had authorized the purchase of 800 more shares. It was receiving a dividend of eight or nine per cent on its investment.[267]

The Easton bank was designed as a branch of the Farmers Bank but it soon became practically independent. It had its own directors—one from each county on the Eastern Shore—and its capital had been raised on the Shore. Later its connection with Annapolis was severed, and the bank continues today as a separate and independent institution under the name of The Easton Bank of Maryland. Successful in other respects, the bank soon found that the land mortgage security system was as bad, for the Eastern Shore at least, as the opponents of the bank said it would be. As quickly as possible the bank abandoned the system entirely.[268]

There had been complaints on the Eastern Shore before the Farmers Bank was chartered that Baltimore banks would not lend farmers a dollar without a city endorser.[269] The intense antipathy of Shoremen and farmers to Baltimore and city banks is shown by an editorial in the Easton *Star* at the time of the passage of the incorporation of the Farmers Bank. The editor reported that Baltimore financial interests were secretly buying up stock of the bank in different counties, and Baltimore banks had spread the word that no more "favors," i.e.,

[265] *Md. Sess.*, 1804 c. 61, Bryan, p. 38.

[266] A. *Md. Gaz.*, Apr. 25, 1805. For other points similarity to Scottish banks see Bryan, pp. 15-16.

[267] *Md Sess.*, 1805 Resolutions, A. *Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 12, 1807. The bank is still doing business in Annapolis as the Farmers National Bank of Annapolis.

[268] Elliott Buse, *One Hundred Fifty Years of Banking on the Eastern Shore* (Easton, Md., 1955) pp. 11, 19.

[269] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

credit, would be granted to those whose names appeared on the stock books of the Farmers Bank. The editor continued that the operation of the bank would convince " the Baltimore speculators and note shavers that their opposition to the bank only serves to rouse the independence of the counties." [270]

Three years after the Farmers Bank and its Easton branch were incorporated, a branch of the bank was chartered for Frederick. The " Fredericktown Branch Bank " was to operate under the same rules as the original bank and have a capital of $100,000 drawn from the Annapolis bank. If this capital were insufficient, the " mother bank " was to augment the branch's stock.[271] By the middle of the nineteenth century this branch had separated from the Annapolis bank and prospered until 1931 under several different names.[272]

The Mechanics Bank, the last bank to be incorporated in Baltimore City before 1807, was chartered in 1806. With capital of $1,000,000 it was organized for a slightly different purpose than the other city banks. Because of the revival of the European wars in 1804, exportation of foodstuffs from Maryland had soared by 1806 to the peak reached in 1799.[273] Baltimoreans again sought an increase in banking capital.

" The Mechanics Bank of Baltimore " was organized, according to its charter, with the hope that " the mechanical and manufacturing interests of this state may, by such an institution, be promoted, and the prosperity thereof advanced." [274] Like the other bank charters, it was modeled after the Bank of Baltimore with a few modifications to enable mechanics and manufacturers to take advantage of its services. Stock at $25 per share was considerably lower than any other Baltimore bank; this was to enable mechanics and manufacturers to become stockholders. Furthermore a portion of the directors of the bank were to be mechanics or manufacturers.[275]

In previous charters there had been no regulations as to

[270] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 18.
[271] *Md. Sess.*, 1807 c. 38.
[272] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* . . . (Philadelphia, 1882). I, 539-40. At different times it was known as the Central Bank of Frederick and the Central Trust Company of Maryland.
[273] Bryan, p. 24.
[274] *Md. Sess.*, 1806 c. 19.
[275] *Ibid.*

the time limit on discounts. In practice city banks took only personal security and loaned or discounted for short periods of time whereas country banks usually took real security for loans or discounts of longer duration. In Baltimore most loans were made upon personal security. Beginning with the charter of the Mechanics Bank, length and conditions of loans and discounts were regulated by provisions in each bank's charter. According to the charter of the Mechanics Bank its loans on personal security were limited to one hundred twenty days but those secured by realty to "practical mechanics or manufacturers only" were limited to two years.[276] In 1807 the legislature authorized the state treasurer to subscribe to 1,600 of the 4,000 shares of stock allotted to Maryland. This entitled the Assembly to appoint two state directors.[277] After a long series of mergers the bank exists today as the First National Bank of Baltimore.

The last Maryland bank to be chartered before 1807 was also the first of the independent county banks, which were usually located in the county seat or the most important town in the county.[278] The "Hagar's-town Bank" began as an unincorporated company under articles of association. In those articles the capital was to be $500,000 but it was halved by the legislature.[279] The historian of the bank reports that both Republicans and Federalists in the county were friendly to the Bank.[280] The bank was expected to aid agricultural, commercial, and mechanical interests of Washington County and the surrounding area. There was to be a six month time limit on all notes or bills discounted by the bank (whether on real or personal property was not specified). The state was allowed to subscribe for one-tenth of the bank's ten thousand shares. By 1807 the state legislature had authorized the purchase of eight hundred shares ($20,000) giving Maryland the right to appoint one director.[281]

[276] *Ibid.*, Bryan, p. 36. But these loans on realty to mechanics and manufacturers were not to exceed one-eighth of the bank's paid-up capital.

[277] *Ibid.*, 1807 Resolutions.

[278] Bryan, pp. 24-25. In a few years almost every county in the state had a bank.

[279] Hagerstown Bank, *Annals of One Hundred Years, 1807-1907* (n.p. 1911) pp. 7-10.

[280] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[281] *Md. Sess.*, 1807 c. 26; Resolutions.

It should not be thought that banks incorporated by the state enjoyed a monopoly in Maryland. Until 1817 banking partnerships were legal.[282] Many of the important private banks of the era, like the firm of Alexander Brown and Sons, continued to function after 1817 as investment bankers.

By 1807 the total corporate banking capital in Maryland, including the Branch Bank of the United States, was $7,450,000 of which $5,500,000 was paid in.[283] Of the $1,181,000 to which the state could subscribe, the legislature had paid in or authorized a subscription of $268,000 worth of stock by 1807. Five years later Maryland's $540,000 of bank stock was surpassed only by that subscribed by Pennsylvania and Massachusetts to their banks.[284] Besides aiding the banks in securing capital, Maryland's investment in bank stock was highly beneficial to state finances. The state could invest at its convenience, when it possessed surplus funds, and could purchase the stocks at par value when the stock was actually selling at a premium. There were fluctuations in bank dividends but in a forty-year period of state investment, the average dividend was over six per cent.[285] Occasionally Maryland borrowed money from one of the banks.[286] Despite the loans and the large amounts of money invested in these banks, the state apparently did not trust its own creations completely. In 1804 the Assembly passed a resolution forbidding the treasurers of Maryland to deposit any specie or notes received by the state treasury into any bank unless directed to do so by the legislature.[287]

Maryland's banks managed to pay high dividends throughout the early nineteenth century although as more banks were chartered, the profits declined from their high peak of twelve per cent a year which the Bank of Maryland, as the only bank in the state, had paid up to 1795. After 1800 dividends of eight, nine, and ten per cent were more usual. Even in de-

[282] Bryan, p. 15.
[283] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[284] Guy S. Callender, "The Early Transportation and Banking Enterprise of the States in Relation to the Growth of Corporations," *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* XVII (Nov.. 1902), 113.
[285] Hugh S. Hanna, *A Financial History of Maryland, 1789-1848,* Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science,* XXV (Baltimore, 1907), p. 40.
[286] *Md. Sess.,* 1800 Resolution No. 10.
[287] *Ibid.,* 1804 Resolutions; Randall, p. 20.

pressed times the banks were able to pay good dividends. As a result of this stability bank stock soon became a standard investment and generally sold above par.[288]

The only example of a local public service corporation in Maryland before 1807 was a Baltimore City water company. Because the springs and wells which had provided Baltimore with water up to that time were proving inadequate to the growing demands of an increasing population, several attempts were made to create a system to supply that city with sufficient water.

The first attempt was connected with fire protection, under the auspices of the Maryland Insurance Fire Company. The 1792 supplement to its charter empowered that company's directors to open a subscription for the "Baltimore Water Company," which was to be a separate and distinct corporation. Nothing can be found in the Baltimore newspapers to indicate that the subscription was ever floated. This was the first water company in the United States to be chartered after the war.[289]

Baltimore City residents took up the problem after the city had been incorporated in 1796. The Baltimore City Council was aware that the lack of water was not only harmful to the citizens but that the fire risk was mounting rapidly in the expanding city. In 1799 the council appropriated $1,000 for the erection and maintenance of pumps in the city. In the last years of the eighteenth century a group of citizens had organized a company to provide water for the city and proposed to raise the capital by a lottery; the lottery was so successful that the whole scheme soon went up in a bubble.[290] The Maryland legislature, in 1800 gave the mayor and city council permission to buy or lease land or water and to lay pipes. In 1803 Mayor Calhoun and the council appointed James McHenry and several others to be water commissioners with powers to carry out the legislature's project. Hardly had the laying of pipes begun when landowners claiming property damage se-

[288] Bryan, p. 39, Davis, II, 105.

[289] *Md. Sess.*, 1792 c. 11, Davis, II, 239-50.

[290] Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 26, 1928, J. H. Hollander, *Financial History of Baltimore*, Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, extra vol. XX (Baltimore, 1899), p. 65.

cured an injunction and stopped all work. After this the mayor and city council confessed defeat and left to private enterprise what the city could not accomplish.[291]

The council urged all " patriotic citizens " to work out some solution. In response to this plea a meeting of Baltimoreans was held on April 20, 1804. By May the first, this meeting had resulted in articles of association for the Baltimore Water Company. Subscriptions were slow in coming in, probably because of fear of landowners blocking this effort, too. If the insurance companies and local business houses had not taken up the offering, the company would have collapsed.[292]

The General Assembly granted a twenty year charter of corporate privileges to the company during the November session of 1804. The capital of the company was not to exceed $500,000. No person or corporation could own more than twenty shares. Jones Falls was to be the source for the proposed water supply. Perhaps with the Manhattan Company in mind, the legislature prohibited all banking privileges to the company.

In 1805 the legislature modified the charter in some respects to conform to the subscribers' wishes. The limitation on the number of shares any one person could hold was removed, and a regressive voting system was substituted for the one-vote-per-share system. The subscribers maintained that the original provisions were contrary to the terms under which the company had been formed and was willing to be governed. They also asked the substitution of a thirty year charter for the original twenty-year incorporation. The Maryland legislature declared that it had no intention of giving control of a public service to private enterprise in perpetuity. The Assembly extended the privileges granted to the company for ten years but only under conditions which would enable the city to buy the company and its works during the thirty year period.[293]

The directors of the company hoped to purchase the water rights of Jones Falls as high as Whitehall Mill (Woodberry) but could secure them only up to the John Street Bridge.

[291] *Md. Sess.*, 1800 c. 77, Baltimore Sun, Aug. 26, 1928, Hollander, p. 65.
[292] *Ibid.*
[293] *Md. Sess.*, 1804 c. 86, 1805 c. 44.

They proceeded to lay pipes, most of them wooden. Later, they purchased ground at Center and Calvert Streets, and at Howard's Hill for reservoirs. By the fall of 1806 the company was ready to supply Baltimore with water. It did so until the works were bought by the city for $1,350,000 in 1854.[294]

There were few water companies in the United States before 1800 and only a very small number of them were successful. Davis explains that many of the companies were cooperatives with the subscribers being the consumers of the water also. For that reason many of the charters were very similar to those of mutual insurance companies, with no provisions for directors, capital stock, or dividends. The Baltimore Water Company was a stock company with a more sophisticated charter. But it had no powers of eminent domain It had to secure the consent of all landowners having property where the company wished to lay pipes or divert a stream.[295]

No manufacturing society or association received a charter in Maryland until 1808, although there were many kinds of simple manufacturing carried on in Baltimore. There was one one joint-stock company in Baltimore which published a "constitution" and began operation, but the scheme soon fell to pieces and the incorporation was not secured.[296] Corporate powers at that time had little effect on the success or failure of manufacturing companies. In other states where both incorporated and unincorporated companies existed, the corporation was no more successful, perhaps even less so, than the unincorporated company. There was a shortage of masters and skilled labor. Little machinery had been built in the country, and it was almost impossible to import it. No amount of state aid and encouragement could surmount these difficulties at that time.[297]

[294] Baltimore *Sun*. Aug. 26, 1928. Recently, while excavating for the Baltimore Civic Center near Redwood and Howard Streets, sections of wooden water pipes, probably laid by this company or the earlier water commissioners, were found about 4 feet underground and were presented to the Maryland Historical Society; *Maryland History Notes*, XIX (May, 1961) No. 1, p. 3.

[295] Davis, II, 256, *Md. Sess.*, 1804 c. 86.

[296] *Md. Sess.*, 1808 c. 49; Shaw Livermore, *Early American Land Companies: Their Influence on Corporate Development* (New York, 1939), p. 257, B. *Md. Gaz.*, June 19, 26, 1789, Davis, II, p. 268.

[297] *Ibid.*, 280-82, 283. To encourage the manufacture of Maryland tobacco,

From the many incorporated companies discussed it must not be concluded that they formed the majority of Maryland business firms or the only firms. On the contrary, the majority of businesses at this time were carried on by partnerships, private companies, or single proprietors. Only when an organization needed some special privilege, such as eminent domain or limited liability, which was considered to be obtainable only through the state, did it apply for these privileges.

According to the percentages in Table I, Business Incorporations by Special Act, Maryland aided by incorporation those services that were considered public necessities and that needed the special powers reserved to corporate entities to function effectively—transportation, water supply, banking, and insurance companies. No movement for corporate status appeared among two major activities in Maryland, trade and agriculture. It seems likely that mercantile and agrarian interests did not seek charters for their activities because incorporation did not offer them any useful benefits or privileges.

In insurance or banking, where the group seeking incorporation had already organized under articles of association, the legislature usually followed these articles, for the most part, in issuing a charter. The changes that were made by the legislature—whether inspired by public interest or business interests—would require further research into the composition of the incorporating legislature.

The state often provided other encouragements to corporations besides the original charter: loans, permissions for lotteries, tax exemptions, and direct state investment. The motives for state investment in financial corporations were probably different from those in investment in transportation companies. When the state began investing in transportation companies, these companies had not proved themselves to be either profitable or unprofiitable. Primarily then the state was interested in promoting Maryland trade and not in a profitable state investment, although there was always hope of some financial return. Maryland continued investing in such projects even when it seemed that little or no profits would ever

the state allowed any tobacco which was declared to have been manufactured in the state to be exported without being inspected and without paying any of the usual fees. *Md. Sess.*, 1789 c. 26.

be forthcoming. But at the time Maryland invested in bank stock, the Bank of Maryland had already proven that banks could be very profitable and that banks needed no state financial aid to survive. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that Maryland, by investing in bank stock, desired to create a permanent source of revenue other than taxation.[298]

## 5

## Conclusion: The Role of the State

Since Marylanders after 1776 could not turn to Great Britain for aid, and since many did not believe that the general government under the Articles of Confederation had powers in the economic field, they appealed to their own state government to continue to encourage and develop Maryland's economy by aiding its agriculture, shipping, commerce, and manufacturing. They were not asking for the evolution of a new policy: since colonial times the Maryland government had followed mercantilistic economics by aiding and at the same time carefully regulating many portions of the state's economy. During the Revolutionary War the state had given special aid and encouragement to those engaged in producing war materiel and continued its regulation of many economic and social relations.

Those who wrote in the popular press after the Revolution advocating aid to newly developing sectors of the economy, especially to manufacturing, and suggesting new methods of aiding all parts of the economy knew so well the mercantilist theories that underlay their suggestions that they never discussed theory but only alluded to it by their choice of examples of successful policies from mercantilistic economies.

The depression in the mid-'eighties caused more thought to be given to policies for aiding the economy. Although aid to manufacturing was advocated by some as a solution for the depression, it had been advocated for different reasons before the depression and would continue to be advocated for many years after the depression had passed. Most policies suggested

[298] See Milton S. Heath, *Constructive Liberalism: The Role of the State in Economic Development in Georgia to 1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954) pp. 329 ff.

for the alleviation of the depression involved monetary reforms: paper money, stay laws, or easement of debtor-creditor relations.

The organization of the national government under the provisions of the Federal Constitution changed economic policy little in Maryland or the other states because many important areas of legislation in the economic field—such as aid to and regulation of business and transportation services—had been left to the states. Even the bitter political debates during the next two decades between Federalists and Republicans did little to destroy the continuity of Maryland's policies. Those Republicans who most strongly opposed interference in the economy by the national government were often its ardent advocates on the state level. After the Republicans won political control of Maryland in 1800 (and retained it for fifteen years), the only change in policy that can be detected is in the field of corporate privileges. More banks were chartered to lessen the banking monopoly and to give Federalist-controlled banks some Republican-controlled competition. After 1800 corporate charters in Maryland, and elsewhere in the United States as Shaw Livermore in his *American Land Companies* . . . notes, became more restrictive in their provisions. He attributes this to Jeffersonian economic theories, but this would be difficult to determine in Maryland, without an examination of the economic theories of those composing each corporation and each enacting legislature.

Even though much more aid to the economy was given by Maryland after the Revolutionary War than before, many of the methods had been tried by the Maryland colonial government. After the war monopoly privileges, including patent rights and exclusive franchises, were given; loans to individual business men were tried; and permission for lotteries to raise funds for every conceivable purpose from building churches to finishing the Susquehanna Canal were granted by the Maryland General Assembly.

Several new methods were developed, however. Tax exemptions were given to immigrant businessmen, to selected businessmen, and to stockholders in certain canal companies. But the most striking innovation to aid the economy developed

after the Revolution, the business corporation. It was not new to Maryland, but only newly applied to the organization of business. In pre-Revolutionary Maryland the corporation was not unknown, but it had never been used to give special powers and responsibilities to private businessmen with the motive of making a profit. The mixed corporation, an interesting development, was an endeavor to make the corporation less monopolistic by having public (i.e., state) participation, and was at the same time an extremely good investment for the state.

Other methods advocated after the war by popular essayists were not utilized by Maryland. Some advocated direct aid to immigrant businessmen and artisans. Many others, including the artisans and manufacturers themselves, asked for tariffs to protect their struggling enterprises from foreign goods. In Maryland the proponents of a protective tariff were not successful during the 1780's although they campaigned diligently for it. After 1789 they had to turn to the national government for protective tariffs, but the state government still could have enacted bounties and premiums to encourage agriculture and manufacturing. However, it did not choose to do so.

As in other mercantilistic economic systems, regulation of the economy in Maryland had always been concomitant with promotion of it. Maryland, as a colony, had regulated the size and quality of bread, tobacco, flour, and other products. After the Revolution Maryland maintained most of these regulations and added others in the new sectors of the economy. In the 'eighties, when the state began to grant monopoly privileges and corporate charters, it included regulating provisions in the acts giving the privileges. Maryland usually reserved the right to abolish the privilege or regulate the rates charged to the public. In attempting to control its corporate creations the state tried various expedients. It chartered very few companies in perpetuity, most being chartered for a limited number of years with a state option in the case of public utilities to buy the works of the company. Rates of profit were often set, with excess profits going to the state. Liability was not always limited in order to restrain the directors of a company from creating rash policies or improper debts. Some charters

called for rotation of company directors and others forbade interlocking directorates. The favored device of the mixed corporation enabled the state to play an active role in the company through its appointment of directors. When the state owned a portion of the stock of a company, it was usually obliged to report at specified intervals to the state as well as to its stockholders. Maryland also inspected each newly finished section of a turnpike before allowing the company to collects tolls on that portion. These and other regulations were not always obeyed since, for the most part, there were no penalties attached for failure to comply.

In the business sector of the Maryland economy, the state did not initiate the development and growth of business organizations. It aided business, without being the prime mover in the inception of particular projects, as part of its policy of encouraging worthwhile projects which were urged by the community or a part of it and were not thought to be detrimental to the public interest. Maryland was never the manipulator of the economy as some have pictured other postwar American states to have been. Yet it was not a laissez-faire economy either. Regulation and control were administered simultaneously with aid and encouragement.

There was little that was new about Maryland's policy of state aid to and regulation of the business sector of the economy. Promotion and regulation had been practiced in Maryland before the war, albeit on a much narrower scale, and the theories and examples upon which the postwar state acted were already well known. They were by no means unique to Maryland, being the common economic doctrine of the other post-Revolutionary American states.

# SIDELIGHTS

## THE COLUMBIA MANUFACTURING COMPANY AND THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, 1808-1816*

By Richard W. Griffin

Although there developed an interest in household textile manufactures throughout the colonial period, and even though such activities were given stimulation by the growing hostility between Britain and the Colonies, there was no serious transition from household to factory manufactures until after the Revolutionary War. The initial promotion and development of the factory system in the United States was largely due to the efforts of the Philadelphia Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures which was founded in 1787. The activities of this Society served as a model for similar associations in other states.

The manufacturing interest that developed was largely stifled in the 1790's because of the economic stimulation given American commerce and agriculture by the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. However, after 1800 the growing complications of international trade under the restrictive policies of both British and French, combined with a growing interest in national economic independence, brought a revived interest in manufactures.

The industrial spirit was manifested in Virginia and Maryland, whose territory surrounded the new Federal District. The quasi-peace of Amiens served as an indication of the economic changes which final peace would have on the struggling new nation. Thus in cities engaged in the cotton trade—Baltimore, Petersburg, Richmond and others—there developed an interest in textile manufactures. The added stimulus of the Embargo Act proved an irresistible pressure in all parts of the United States in 1808. It is not strange, therefore, that in the raw new capital of the nation this spirit was also displayed.

The administration of Thomas Jefferson, both embarrassed and

* Research for this paper was sponsored by a grant of The American Philosophical Society.

put on the defensive by the reaction to the Embargo Act, looked to its friends for succor as criticism of the policy mounted. In the summer of 1808 Samuel Smith, editor of the *National Intelligencer,* an administration journal, pointed out to his readers that although the embargo was causing a dislocation of commercial and agricultural interests, it was at the same time "producing the most striking effects in the growth of manufactures." He said further that "the injustice and oppression of foreign powers have given birth to this stimulus; and our countrymen, with a spirit that does them honor, are entering with enthusiasm into these great manufactures, that have become doubly profitable from the troubled situation of our foreign intercourse. There is scarcely a town to the Eastward, that has not caught the patriotic flame, and whose citizens have not already opened their purses with a liberality worthy of the object. In many of the great commercial towns a large portion of the capital, usually employed in trade, is already engaged in erecting and carrying on cotton manufactories; and we have good authority for saying that profits, . . . are equal to those of trade." [1]

The friends of the administration came to its rescue on this issue, for not only were factories rising in the North, but also to an unprecedented degree in the South and West. In Virginia manufacturing societies were started in Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg and far to the west in Rockbridge County. James Monroe served as chairman of the planning committee of the Richmond Society – and presented for public consideration and approval a plan for a cotton and woolen mill in Richmond to cost $500,000. At Baltimore, Maryland; Charleston, South Carolina; Salem, North Carolina; Louisville, Georgia, and in a dozen other small places from the Potomac to the Mississippi, spindles and looms were in operation before the year 1808 had passed.

So it was that in Washington—to many, the den of Jeffersonian iniquity—as well as Georgetown and Alexandria, the manufacturing impulse arose. A few weeks after Samuel Smith presented in the *Intelligencer* the arguments in favor of building factories, a meeting of Washington citizens was held at Stelle's Hotel, the social mecca of the city, to discuss plans for the establishment of a cotton factory in the nation's capital. The chairman of this meeting was Robert Brent, and John Law served as its secretary. The resolutions which favored the establishment of a mill were presented by Samuel Smith, who was a friend of the President and a

[1] *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), May 20, 1808.

spokesman for the party. The resolutions defended the Embargo Act and called upon Washingtonians to be resolute and to contribute to the winning of national economic freedom.[2]

The final action of this initial meeting was to appoint a select committee to present a plan for the organization of a company—Samuel Smith was named to this group along with Gabriel Duval, of Maryland, who then held the office of first comptroller of the Treasury Department. No doubt Duval secured excellent advice, for one of his colleagues in the Department was Tench Coxe, Purveyor of Public Supply. Coxe was one of the best known and perhaps the foremost promoter of American industrial development; he had been the founder of the Philadelphia Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures in 1787, as well as a prolific writer of studies of American economic opportunities and industrial growth. He had been a supporter and associate of Alexander Ham-

[2] *Ibid.*, June 22, 1808. Resolutions of the Organizational Meeting. "RESOLVED, that at a time when our rights as an independent nation are trampled upon with unprecedented audacity and injustice by the belligerant nations of Europe; when a system is organized and powerfully organized to deprive us of all the benefits of trade, and reduce us to a state of colonial subjection, and when our government for the purpose of preserving our property from robbery, and multiplying our chances for the continuance of peace, has suspended the export of our products; it becomes the people of the United States to meet the crisis with intrepidity, and to demonstrate their readiness, at the call of their government, patiently to endure inevitable sacrifices, or to actively unfurl their energies.

"RESOLVED, That whether our future lot be peace or war, it is the dictate of the soundest patriotism to render ourselves independent of the workshops of Europe.

"RESOLVED, That this is the propitious moment for the commencement of a system for developing and embodying those internal resources that can alone insure this independence, and on which alone may depend the continuance of peace; for the commencement of a system, permanent as our national existence and co-extensive with the Union.

"RESOLVED, That to insure the accomplishment of this inestimable object, this endearing good out of evil, it is the duty and ought to be the ambition, of every town and section of the Union, by the force of example and union of resources, to encourage by suitable plans, the establishment and extension of domestic manufactures.

"RESOLVED, That the city of Washington, from its local position, from its being the nearest navigable point to the Western country, from the fertility of various districts in its vicinity, and from its abundant fisheries, is eminently fitted for attaining manufacturing importance.

"RESOLVED, Therefore, to afford the citizens of Washington an opportunity of co-operating with their fellow citizens throughout the Union in the promotion of this great object, a committee of seven citizens be appointed, with instructions to report to a subsequent meeting a proper plan for the establishment of domestic manufactures.

"The following committee was thereupon appointed: Mr. Samuel H. Smith, Judge Cranch, Mr. Gabriel Duval, Dr. Cornelius Cunningham, Mr. N. Cutting. Mr. G. Blagden, Mr. Buller Cocke, Mr. Robert Brent."

ilton and his manufacturing plans, and while serving as assistant secretary of the Treasury, had made investigations of the country's industrial growth.

The committee took three weeks in preparing articles of association to be presented to a public meeting. They chose July 11, 1808, one week after the national anniversary, to call the public to Stelle's once more.[3]

The proposals of the committee were read to the assembled participants twice and then they were adopted unanimously. The auditors agreed to unite to establish the Columbia Manufacturing Company for the purpose of manufacturing cotton, hemp, and flax. It was agreed that the original investment in the plant would be $50,000, to be divided into 2,000 shares to be paid for by subscribers on the installment plan – five dollars down and the balance in installments of five dollars each upon sixty days' notice. The company was to be automatically established as soon as five hundred shares had been taken—then officers would be elected.[4]

---

[3] *Ibid.*, July 4, 11, 1808.

[4] *Ibid.*, July 13, 1808.

"ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE COLUMBIA MANUFACTURING COMPANY. We the subscribers, do hereby agree to form a company or limited partnership, and do so hereby associate and agree with each other, to conduct business in the manner herein after specified and described, by and under stile of the Columbia Manufacturing Company, and we do hereby mutually covenant and agree that the following are and shall be the fundamental articles of agreement with each other, by which we and all the persons who may hereafter transact business with the said company, shall be bound and concluded.

"ARTICLE I. The objects of this association are to be the establishment and carrying on the manufacture of cotton, wool, hemp, and flax, and the promotion of such other domestic manufactures as shall be thought advisable.

"ARTICLE 2. The capital stock of the Company shall consist of 50,000 dollars to be raised by subscription on 2000 shares at 25 dollars on each share, of which Five Dollars shall be paid to the commissioners at the time of subscription, and the residue to the President and Directors, in installments of five dollars, as called for by them; Provided, that sixty days previous notice thereof be given in one or more of the public prints in the city of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria. The books shall be opened on the first Monday in August in the city of Washington, Alexandria, and Georgetown, under the direction of the commissioners, hereinafter named, and at such other places as they shall name. They shall continue open as long as the Commissioners shall direct, who are also authorized to use such other means for filling the subscriptions as they shall consider necessary.

"ARTICLE 3. As soon as 500 shares shall have been subscribed, the commissioners shall convene the stockholders to meet in the city of Washington, for the purpose of framing a plan, not inconsistent with these articles, for conducting the business of the institution, at which meeting each stockholder shall be entitled to as many votes as he holds shares, and at which a majority of the whole number of shares subscribed for shall be represented; and until such a number of stockholders shall assemble, and form said plan, the commissioners may adjourn the meeting from time to time.

"ARTICLE 4. In case 500 shares shall not be subscribed within six months

The Columbia Manufacturing Company was launched and the officers for the year duly elected.[5] But the work of putting the factory into operation moved slowly. The immediate problem was securing the money once it was pledged, and when the initial enthusiasm wore off, it became increasingly difficult to secure sufficient funds to accomplish the most simple establishment. Early in 1809 George Washington Parke Custis wrote a long series of articles on the also languishing Washington Woolen Mill. He emphasized the need to encourage such budding enterprises and chided the public for its failure to patronize these factories and stated that "very certain it is that the laudable and patriotic views of the promoters of these institutions are at present much paralyzed by the apathy of their fellow-citizens, and the enthusiasm in favor of domestic economy, seems to be subsiding to its former level."[6] He went on to describe what needed to be done to establish factories.

In the following fall the Columbia Factory had one carding machine in operation and two looms ready for a weaver. The factory, located on Pennsylvania Avenue, was the "fourth house west of President's square." The company advertised its ability to furnish spinners with cotton "soaped, cleaned, carded into rolls 24 inches long" at forty cents per pound. The superintendent, John Gardiner, at the same time advertised for a weaver and three slaves—one to operate the carding machine.[7]

---

from the opening of the books, the money subscribed shall be returned to the subscribers, it being in the meantime deposited by the commissioners in some one of the banks within the District of Columbia.

"ARTICLE 5. The commissioners shall pay the monies received by them, after deducting their necessary expenses, to the order of such persons as the company may direct.

"ARTICLE 6. Dividends shall be made of the profits of the company, so soon as the progress of the works and the state of the funds will permit.

"ARTICLE 7. Application shall be made to Congress to incorporate the company.

"ARTICLE 8. It is hereby declared expressly and made part of this association, that all persons who deal or contract with the said company, do so deal or contract, on the sole credit of the capital stock, common property, and joint funds of the said company, and not on the private or individual credit of the said President and Directors, or any of them, or of the stockholders or any of them, and do expressly relinquish and so claim all right and pretense of right to look to or receive anything from the individual property or person of the said President, directors or stockholders, or any of them, by reason or on account of any such contract; to which effect there shall be a clause inserted in all contracts, writing or obligations to be made by the President and directors in pursuance of these articles, with any person or persons whomsoever—unless an act of incorporation shall be obtained."

[5] *Ibid.*, February 22, 1809.

[6] *Ibid.*, February 24, 1809.

[7] *Ibid.*, August 23, 1809.

The directors of the company a few weeks later announced in the *Intelligencer* that they could not succeed without prompt payment of the installments due on the stock subscribed. They directed the President, Robert Brent, to make a public report on the money received and paid out in the company's interest. The reports of the president, treasurer, and superintendent of the company which were accordingly published displayed how little the owners of the company had contributed towards its success. The president's report stated that:

> The directors are anxious to be enabled to extend the machinery, so as to justify their renting a proper house for the works, and procuring manufacturers of skill and character to conduct the different branches; but with the small means now under their control, it will occur to every subscriber that it would be neither prudent nor proper in the Directors, to incur expense without prospect of that remuneration to the stockholders which a more extensive capital would most probably secure, because the expense of conducting the establishment would be greater in proportion than on a larger.
>
> From a full persuasion that the subscribers to the institution were actuated by a desire to prompting this infant manufactory, and that they will perserver to the extent subscribed to promote its success, the Directors feel a confident reliance upon them in paying the amount of their subscriptions to the Treasurer of the Institution.
>
> Robert Brent, Pres't, Nov. 20, 1809

The report of the treasurer bordered on the absurd. The company had received from the stockholders $1,394.00, and the Superintendent reported sales of carded cotton to the extent of $20.33. The amount spent for company purposes was as follows:

> Cash paid for a carding machine, $500.00; a Billy of 44 spindles and a Jenny of 66 spindles and 8 in tacks, $222.67; two reels and boards, $18.25; a small Loom to weave one yard wide, $74.27; expenses of Mr. Gardiner's journey to Philadelphia, $40.00; Porterage and commission on the machinery, $44.20; Freight from Philadelphia on the same, $87.50; Sundries paid for erecting and repairing the machinery, workmanship by carding, spinning and weaving, and miscellaneous expenses, $203.14; Purchase and carriage of one bag of cotton, $51.64; Contingent expenses for meetings of the Directors & Co., $14.00; Books, stationery & printing, $23.93. Total $1,320.00, balance in hand $94.23. Errors excepted $1414.33.
>
> Thomas Carpenter, Secretary and Treasurer.[8]

That the subscribers had fallen far short of the minimum investment of $12,500 was obvious, with barely more than ten per-

[8] *Ibid.*, November 24, 1809.

cent of this amount collected. The company was faced with paying rent on a building, buying cotton, and employing workers with a balance of $94.23 in the treasury (That the officers and directors were concerned can be well understood).

The publicly acknowledged difficulties of the Columbia Company seemed not to discourage other manufacturing entrepreneurs. Three days following the disclosures of this company another group of capitalists announced the organization of the Domestic Manufacture Company of Alexandria. They stated their willingness to sell stock in this new concern on a subscription and installment basis—and thus compete for the little capital apparently available in the District for manufacturing purposes.[9] Nonetheless the Alexandria Company was successfully organized and the next year was judged to have "as good looms and weaving, as are to be found any place in the United States." [10]

In announcing the annual election of officers for the Columbia Company the directors published a resolution stating that "every subscriber who shall have neglected to pay nine installments on the 22nd of February, inst. shall be deemed to have forfeited all right and interest in the company." The treasurer was ordered to bring this by-law to the attention of the delinquents through the public press.[11] What result the threat had is not known but the Directors in face of mounting problems proceeded to begin operations of the mill. They lost their superintendent and were forced to advertise for a spinner and weaver who could take over the management of the concern.[12]

The company was successful in securing a skillful weaver who not only served as manager of the plant but undertook to apprentice children and teach them the use of the flying shuttle. Those who were already acquainted with the hand loom were assured that within three months they would master the more advanced loom. This may have been one way to secure relatively cheap labor. Thomas Carpenter, the secretary-treasurer of the Columbia Factory, reported at the same time that the prospects of the company were never better and asked the stockholders once more to "speedily pay up the installments in arears." [13]

This appeal was evidently highly successful for the company in

[9] *Ibid.*, November 27, 1809, promoters were G. Deneale, Hugh Smith, John Longdon, John McKinney and James Irwin.

[10] Richard Harris, "Progress in Manufactures," *City Gazette* (Charleston, S. C.), March 19, 1810, quoting the Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer.*

[11] *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), February 12, 1810.

[12] *Ibid.*, February 28, 1810.

[13] *Ibid.*, March 30, 1810.

the following two years gave up their quarters in the heart of the city and built a factory and mill village at Greenleaf's Point. At this location the company could more easily attract workers and provide for them suitably. The employees were provided with comfortable houses as well as land for vegetable gardens. The company had sufficient housing so that they offered both rooms and houses for rent generally. In the spring of 1812 the company advertised for more weavers and apprentices, and had as well two openings for laborers, preferably those who were "acquainted with gardening." The mill was by this time engaged in the spinning of both wool and cotton, and their surplus yarns were offered for sale to poor families for domestic manufacture.[14]

John Gardiner, who had served as mill superintendent and general factotum in 1810, had become in 1812 one of the officers of the company. He announced a call for the selection of five directors and a general stockholders' meeting to consider changes in the company's by-laws.[15] Doubtless the company enjoyed considerable prosperity and patronage after the outbreak of the War of 1812. The resulting blockade served to extend to domestic manuacturers the ultimate in protection — the prohibition of competition from abroad.

The impact of the war had the effect of stimulating further competition for this pioneer mill in the District. The Georgetown Woolen Mill was opened and began the manufacture of woolen blankets under a special patented process. The proprietors advertised their ability to furnish any quantity of blankets on short notice as well as a willingness to buy or exchange their product for wool.[16] This company's proprietors doubtless hoped to secure government contracts to supply this item to the War Department.

Still another mill, a woolen factory, was built at the Falls of the Potomac to take advantage of the water power generated there. Although the region was isolated the concern had the advantage of the river to convey its wares directly to the ports of Georgetown and Alexandria. The editor of the Georgetown *Messenger* lauded the patriotic enterprise displayed by the promoters of this company, and predicted that it would be a boon to the country "in the event of that support being afforded by the public, which the proprietors are entitled to."[17]

---

[14] *Ibid.*, March 12, 1812.
[15] *Ibid.*, February 13, 1812.
[16] *Ibid.*, August 13, 1812, the owners were Elkanah Cobb, Daniel Bussard and Company.
[17] *Carolina Gazette* (Charleston, S. C.), August 3, 1816, quoting the Georgetown (D. C.) *Messenger*.

The confusion before the capture and during the temporary occupation of Washington in 1814 by British forces under the command of General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, doubtless brought the activities of these various mills to a standstill. It is likely that the Columbia Factory was destroyed, for the British saw action at the arsenal at Greenleaf's Point, and it was reported that two rope manufactories and other private property were destroyed as a result.[18]

In these ways the Embargo Act and subsequent related events brought into existence five textile mills in the District or its immediate vicinity: the Washington Woolen Mill, Columbia Factory, Domestic Manufacture Company of Alexandria, Georgetown Blanket factory and the Great Falls Woolen Mills. If these mills survived the war, and there is no evidence that they did so, they would have probably, due to weak financing, have been swept away by the influx of British goods into the country after the Treaty of Ghent. The evidence indicates that only the Great Falls Factory survived the War but it seems not to have existed long afterward.

Although present information is sketchy, it seems safe to say that what happened to the District Industrial establishments forestalled bankruptcy soon after the war. Throughout the country perhaps as many as two hundred small textile mills were forced out of business in 1816 and 1817. British competition, the ineffective tariff of 1816, and primitive organization all combined to deal a crippling blow to the infant industry of the United States. However, individual Americans contributed to the crisis by their failure to pay stock subscription installments which left their companies without sufficient resources to weather the storm.

The many thousands of dollars lost in such enterprises tended to retard the recovery and growth of the textile industry in the post-war era. American entrepreneurs had learned many lessons—some harsh and costly, but many which, once learned, paved the way for a solid, expanding and permanent growth of the industry in the following decades.

[18] *National Intelligencer,* August 29, 1815.

# REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*The Growth of Southern Civilization.* By CLEMENT EATON. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961. xvii, 357. $6.

This book provides exactly what the New American Nation Series is supposed to provide: a thorough, balanced summary of recent scholarship in the field by one of its most distinguished scholars. Professor Eaton has begun with the old studies by such men as Fleming, Dodd and Phillips; he moved on to the searching modern monographs by men like Sydnor, Craven and Stampp; he added the brilliant insights of men like Woodward, Cash and Hofstadter; he searched the hundreds of dissertations and scholarly articles by the students of such men as Green, Hesseltine and Owsley; and he topped it all off with a lifetime of first-hand research into the newspapers, travel accounts and especially the manuscripts which are scattered over the nation. The result is the finest summary to date about life in the Old South. Here, now, is the basic, accepted story to which all future scholars must add or from which their new theses must vary.

Professor Eaton begins with the plantation and slave system as the distinguishing features of Southern society. Concerning the plantation, he generally leans toward the new Cash thesis, emphasizing that, except for parts of Virginia and Maryland, the planter was very much a frontiersman, crude, materialistic, and probably far less cultured or serene than the modern middle class American. Concerning slavery, Professor Eaton leans toward the old Phillips thesis, emphasizing that, despite the ultimate cruelty of hopelessness, in practice slavery was neither excessively cruel nor unprofitable.

The greatest emphasis, however, is not on the plantation at all, but on ways in which the South, with all its diversity, was very much like the rest of the United States. Professor Eaton stresses the important role of the yeoman farmer, the mechanic, the business and professional classes, and the rise of towns. He stresses the different types of Southerner in the border states, the tidewater, the pine barrens, the piedmont and the mountains. One of the most significant chapters tells the long-neglected story of the Creole civilization in the bayou country. Marylanders will wish their own, in many ways distinctive, society were treated so carefully. In-

deed, one of the important themes of the book concerns the South's colonial dependence on Northern manufactures, and a careful study of the rise of Baltimore might reveal much about this new colonialism.

There are certain faults inherent in the New American Nation Series, for subjects can no longer be separated as easily, and "definitive" works are no longer quite as exciting, as fifty years ago when the first series was projected. Nowadays, with intellectual and political history relegated to separate volumes, a certain dimension is inevitably missing, and by the very act of reconciling modern scholarship there is a certain blandness to a description of Southern society. Nevertheless, for life in the Old South — *wie es eigentlich gewesen*—here is a superb summary of the way the best historians view it today.

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT

*University of Maryland*

*The Papers of Henry Clay,* Volume II, *The Rising Statesman, 1815-1820.* Edited by JAMES F. HOPKINS and MARY W. M. HARGREAVES. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1961. viii, 939, $15.

Like its predecessor, this second volume of the Clay Papers is comprehensive in content, meticulously edited, and invaluable for a better understanding both of Clay and this relatively little-known period of our history in which the young Kentucky congressman played an increasingly important role. Clay's letters and speeches are those of a man intimately connected with almost every major national issue during the six years here covered. They begin in the aftermath of the Peace of Ghent ending the War of 1812 with his labors as a negotiator of the commercial treaty of 1815 with Great Britain. They go on to his resumption of leadership in the House of Representatives as the Speaker of that chamber; the formulation of his famous American System of planned national economy; his advocacy against laissez-faire opponents of the main elements of that System: a central Bank of the United States, federal aid to roads and canals, and a protective tariff; his glowingly eloquent championship of the Spanish American republics in their fight for independence. They end with his skillful compromise of the Missouri controversy over slavery, the first of his three great compromises to preserve the Union, and one of the most brilliant personal triumphs in our congressional history. During these six years "The

Rising Statesman" had become firmly established as a very able and popular national leader. Now in his early forties he looked forward with confidence to attaining the presidency in 1824.

Bernard Mayo

*University of Virginia*

*Van Meteren's Virginia 1607-1612.* By John Parker. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961. 102. $5.

We think of the Dutch part of American history chiefly in connection with New York. But it was a Dutch ship that unloaded the first African slaves at Jamestown, and "It was in Virginia that the need for Anglo-Dutch collaboration seemed most necessary to some of the imperialists in both countries. . . ."

Among these Emanuel van Meteren, a Dutch merchant living in London, proved a most perceptive historian. Mr. John Parker, in this scholarly little book (which, incidentally, was one of the top fifteen in the 1961 Midwestern Books Competition), is at pains to present van Meteren's interpretation in terms of the politico-socio-economic factors of 1607-1612. He explains, for instance:

> "Van Meteren's ommission from his narrative of all that was unpleasant is understandable as a natural disclination to give comfort to the enemy, to make it appear that Spain could wipe out the little colony with the slightest effort . . . Spain was apparently preparing to make such an effort in 1608 . ."

But he finds, as will the reader, that van Meteren was a sound and reliable man. In Mr. Parker's present book he is made to appear to best advantage.

Ellen Hart Smith

*Owensboro, Ky.*

*The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776-1790.* By E. James Ferguson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961. [Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia.] xvi, 343. $7.50.

This book, a product of more than a decade of research in difficult primary sources, makes a major contribution to the financial

history of the years 1776-1790. Professor Ferguson's analyses of the composition and growth of the public (federal) debt excel anything in print. His long chapter on speculation in that debt adds depth and detail to our knowledge of that subject. His discussion of Robert Morris, while overly harsh because of a failure to give due weight to the essential dependence of public credit upon Morris's ability to maintain his own private credit, makes clear the ideological continuity between the program of Morris and the "Nationalists" of 1780-1784 and the later program of Hamiltonian Federalism. Clarence L. Ver Steeg had earlier insisted upon this continuity, and the recent finding of Curtis P. Nettels is that only Hamilton's emphasis on the importance of domestic manufacturing was missing from Morris' earlier proposals. Perhaps some future rescaling of the total complex of causes eventuating in the Constitution will assign lesser weights to such external events as post-war depression and Shay's Rebellion.

I have some reservations about Ferguson's book. In the first place, I think he is wrong in his argument that had the states discharged the public debt in the 1780's "Congress would have been left with depleted functions and little reason to claim enlarged powers" (p. 241). The need for effective central government depended on considerations more extensive and complex than those of debt. Nor can public interest in that need be approached solely through narrow channels of self-interest. The viability of a fledgling republic, its defense, dignity, and economic development required abandoning the Articles of Confederation in favor of the Constitution. That abandonment injured some private interests, enhanced others, and in some cases, as Forrest McDonald's work shows, had both effects upon those of others. In part, but in part only, there was a coincidence of private and public interest. The latter towered above the interests of any individual or group.

STUART BRUCHEY

*Michigan State University*

*Canal or Railroad?* By JULIUS RUBIN. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1961. 106. $2.50.

New York's Erie Canal, completed 1825, appeared to the business men of Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore—New York City's closest competitors—to assure that city's dominance in western trade. This book catalogues the response of each city to a similar

problem and attempts to explain why each found a different solution.

Since turnpikes could not compete with canals in carrying bulk cargo, canals and increasingly railroads were proposed for transmontane traffic. Philadelphia receives the most detailed analysis because the early debate on the alternatives was public. But Marylanders will be interested to read of the audacious answer of Baltimore businessmen to Erie's threat, the building by private enterprise of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, "the world's first long-range, general-purpose railroad." The independence of mind of Baltimore's merchants has been evident at other times: in 1798 during the Naval War with France, they did not petition the government to protect shipping but gave the United States two warships, one the *Constellation,* to be used for that purpose.

The most perplexing question, why each city chose a particular method of transportation, is not adequately answered in this study, as Dr. Rubin himself notes. These decisions cannot be explained on a completely rational level; the local milieu and each area's historical peculiarities affected the judgments of community leaders. More scholarly local history is required to explain decisions which often determined the economic fate of a locality.

*Canal or Railroad* is lucidly written, well organized, and the index is accurate except for the reference to Mathew Carey as William Carey.

MARY JANE DOWD

*National Archives and Records Service*

*Commanders of the Army of the Potomac.* By WARREN W. HASSLER, JR. Baton Rouge; Louisiana State University Press, 1962. xxi, 281. $6.

Seven men commanded the great Federal army of the East; one reached the pinnacle of greatness, and the other six were expensive failures. In this very readable work, Prof. Hassler of Pennsylvania State University has presented poignant character analyses of each. He has performed his chosen task with such adroitness as to make the subjects alive, understandable and, for the most part, pathetic.

Irvin McDowell suffered from a lack of determination, self-confidence, and ordinary luck. George McClellan falls prey to blinding egotism and tactical timidity. The bragging and swaggering

John Pope could never be convinced that Lee, Longstreet and Jackson were not trying to run away from him. Of old, lovable Ambrose Burnside, a fellow officer commented: "Few men, probably, have risen so high upon so slight a foundation." Joseph Hooker had a strong penchant for gossip, criticism and alcohol. "If Hooker had two to one against Lee," P. G. T. Beauregard once stated, "then I pity the former." George G. Meade was a soldier more by diligence than by nature, and the troops were paying no compliments when they called him "a damned old goggle-eyed snapping turtle." It remained for the silent, simple, direct Sam Grant to succeed wherein the others had failed. Yet in victory was a measure of defeat, for the path from the Wilderness to Appomattox ran red with the blood of young America.

The book abounds with quotations from staff officers and from military commentators of the last century. For the most part, Dr. Hassler's judgment of each commander coincides with popular belief. If he is perhaps too hard on Pope; he is likewise too soft on McClellan. (However, it should be pointed out here that the author has also written the best biography of "Little Mac.") He correctly adjudges Burnside as the worst of the lot, yet Burnside had one virtue the others lacked: from the outset he freely conceded his incompetence for army command.

James I. Robertson, Jr.
*National Civil War Centennial Commission*

*A Rebel Came Home.* Edited by Charles M. McGee, Jr., and Ernest M. Lander, Jr. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1961. xiv, 153. $4.50.

This volume presents a record of two worlds—the Federal, the Confederate. Its writer was Floride Clemson, daughter of the favorite child of John C. Calhoun. Its purpose was unpretentious, merely girlish: to provide an aid to a belle's memory of people, places, events, and impressions during her heyday—her twentieth to twenty-fourth years. Not a diary in the most literal sense, it embodies occasional rather than daily entries. Its outlook is feminine; its flavor smacks somewhat of Victorian romanticism. It includes a young lady's mildly boastful enumeration of ten suitors "*& some accidentals*" who were, on the eve of her twenty-first birthday, among "my more constant visitors." But it also includes elements far more significant.

For Floride Clemson's manuscript volume of about 120 pages was written during 1863-1866, in both parts of a nation divided against itself, and by a young woman of distinguished descent whose father's and mother's families were of opposite allegiances. Her courtiers were paying their attentions to a resident of Maryland, just outside the Federal capital, whom the New York *Herald* had already publicized as "an active *rebel, & secessionist,* who ought to be watched" suspicously, not flattered. Her brother, John Calhoun Clemson, was a Confederate Army officer, a captive imprisoned on Johnson's Island, near Sandusky, Ohio. Her father, Thomas Green Clemson, was a Confederate civil official but had formerly served in the United States diplomatic corps under three presidents and in the Patent Office. Her maternal grandmother, Calhoun's widow, was a zealous Confederate living in up-country South Carolina. The Clemsons, with the exception of Floride's father, were Federals. All this was well known to many people. When family news occasionally penetrated through the battlefronts between Floride's two worlds, it usually did so through intermediaries or by letters which the writers took the precaution to sign with pseudonyms. This volume offers some welcome evidence concerning the ever-intriguing questions of loyalty and security in the "brothers' war" of a century ago.

About half of Floride's memory book was written during 1863 and 1864, while she and her mother lived successively at Bladensburg and Beltsville, Maryland. It shows clearly and often that despite their sentiments, they were not entirely *persona non grata* there, among such Baltimoreans as the family of John H. B. Latrobe, and among the many Clemson relatives and friends in Pennsylvania and New York whom Floride visited. When Floride traveled among her kin, her mother warned her to be discreet in conversation about the issues of the day; after a Northern tour of about 1,650 miles the daughter observed, "No one troubled me about politics, & I spent my time delightfully." We can be grateful that she spent some of it, too, in recording, albeit unconsciously, much testimony about the Maryland "home front."

In printed form, even with generous additions by able editors, Floride's commentary on her troubled times is as small as it is natural. But it is a gem indeed, full of color and reflecting much light; and the editors have mounted this gem in a near-perfect setting. They deserve two special commendations. Diligently, in footnotes and an appendix, they have identified hundreds of persons in Floride's two worlds, even those she mentioned quite casually. For this purpose they have used standard sources and, much

more remarkably, census records. Moreover, they have provided prefatory and appended materials of superior usefulness, based chiefly upon the voluminous family correspondence that is preserved, like Floride's manuscript memory book, at Clemson College. Neither the Calhouns nor the Clemsons were an harmonious clan, easy to understand. Welcome, therefore, is the editors' distillation of perceptive and judicious insights into these families' histories.

W. Edwin Hemphill

*The Papers of John C. Calhoun*

*The Parson of the Islands: The Life and Times of the Rev. Joshua Thomas.* By Adam Wallace. Cambridge, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 1961. 412. $3.95.

This is a centennial reissue which preserves the look and feel of the original. A biography of much background material, it has sketches of the Reverend Mr. Thomas' contemporaries which will interest many of their desecendants, and there is a vivid picture of life on the islands and the eastern shores of Maryland and Virginia, with special emphasis of course on the Methodist camp-meetings and revivals which were social as well as religious gatherings. An unusually picturesque circuit-rider in his canoe "the Methodist," Joshua Thomas tried not to miss a one. In his spare time, since being a fisher of men was not remunerative, he earned his living as a fisherman. His crowded and useful career, set down soon after it ended by a colleague "of the Philadelphia Conference," is a story which well bears repeating.

Ellen Hart Smith

*Owensboro, Ky.*

*Early American Wooden Ware & Other Kitchen Utensils.* By Mary Earle Gould. Rutland, Vt.; Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1962. 243. $8.50.

Collectors of Americana will be pleased to know of the publication of this enlarged and new edition of a previously hard to find reference work. While practically all of the utensils classified and catalogued are of New England origin, nevertheless collectors in other parts of the country will benefit from the generalities Miss

Gould draws. Profusely illustrated with some 200 photographs, and indexed from adze to yeast, those who frequent country auctions, old barns, and antique shops in search of treen will find much valuable information concerning their purchases or discoveries in this book. Of equal value is the insight given into the daily lives of our early housewives.

C. A. P. H.

*Titian Ramsay Peale, 1799-1885, and His Journals of the Wilkes Expedition.* By Jessie Poesch. Philadelphia; The American Philosophical Society, 1961. 214 pp., 77 figs., two endpaper maps. $6.50.

In this biography the youngest son of Charles Willson Peale emerges as a personnage in his own right, independent of the prestige of other members of this highly creative Philadelphia family. Titian was not a painter of the caliber of his father nor of his half-brother, Rembrandt, but by training and aptitude he became one of the American artist-naturalists whose accurate pictorial records implement the scientific data and the journals of our research expeditions in the mid-nineteenth century.

Two such expeditions dominate this account: the Yellowstone Expedition, better known as Major Long's expedition (1818-1821), and the Wilkes Expedition (1838-1842). The experience which qualified young Titian for Major Long's safari consisted of a trip to Georgia and Florida with George Ord in the course of which they collected specimens, dined on parakeets, shot alligators, and picked up Indian artifacts, shells and birdskins for the Peale Museum in Philadelphia. The next year Charles Willson Peale, in Washington to paint the President's portrait, did all he could to facilitate his son's appointment to Major Long's staff, with the understanding that the specimens collected would belong to the Philadelphia museum. The party set out from Pittsburgh along the Ohio River, past St. Louis, up the Missouri, west to Long's Peak and Pike's Peak, thence south to New Orleans, having discovered "the great American desert." But the climax of Titian Peale's career was clearly his four-year participation in the Wilkes Expedition whose ship sailed to the Madeiras before landing at Rio de Janeiro. By way of Cape Horn the explorers touched shore at Santiago and Lima before crossing the South Pacific to Australia and New Zealand; then, moving northward they visited Hawaii

(1840), Puget Sound and San Francisco and went home to New York via the Philippine Islands (1842), Singapore and St. Helena! Miss Poesch reconstitutes the artist-naturalist's experience with skill, using his shipmates' accounts as well as Titian's own letters, journal, notes and drawings. Many of the drawings of specimens and places (made occasionally with the aid of a *camera lucida*) are reproduced, and the journal forms Part 2 of the book.

Was the rest of Titian Peale's life anticlimactic? There were certainly difficult periods, in one of which (June-July, 1821) he tried to work with Rembrandt in the latter's new Museum in Baltimore. From time to time he worked as an assistant in the Philadelphia Museum, but at last in 1850 he obtained a post in the United States Patent Office which he held until 1873. His interest in photography led to the patenting in 1861 of the Kinematoscope, a "Peale family toy" for which his young nephew, Coleman Sellers, was chiefly responsible. After his retirement, returning to Philadelphia, he found time to work on "The Butterflies of North America, diurnal Lepioptera, when they come; where they go; and what they do," consisting of one volume of manuscript and three of drawings and paintings, never published (American Museum of Natural History). But in the end, as Miss Poesch quietly points out, the two appropriate memorials are the two sites that bear his name: a mountain on the Colorado-Utah border, and an island near Wake in the South Pacific. Thus ends a soundly documented, completely absorbing biography which lights up one more of our adventuresome nineteenth century Americans.

ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER

*Goucher College*

*Chanteying Aboard American Ships.* By FREDERICK PEASE HARLOW. Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Gazette, 1962. viii, 250. $8.50.

Shanties are the work songs of the sea. Whether you prefer "chantey," from the French *chanter,* to sing, or "shanty," from the Mobile waterfront — Sir Richard R. Terry champion of this claim—is immaterial.

Shanties were practically the exclusive possession of sailors on English and American ships. While Dana in 1834 gives us the first description in print of shanty-singing on American ships, many of the chantys go back to the Armada. So says Patterson of "Whiskey Johnny." "A Roving" appears in Thomas Heywood's "The Rape of Lucrece" which played in London in 1630. As they came

down, between the 16th century and the period of Dana, by word of mouth only, it is reasonable that there would be many derivations in words and tunes, and many uses for any popular chantey.

Mr. Harlow has extended Joanna C. Colcord's definitive *Roll and Go* (1924) greatly and to the benefit of chantey history. For example, in *Roll and Go* there are 86 different songs against Mr. Harlow's 134. Miss Colcord divides her selections into: Short Drag Shanties, Halyard Shanties, Windlass or Capstan Shanties, and Forecastle Songs while Mr. Harlow breaks his material into: the Chantey, Chanteying on the "Akbar," Chanties and Sea Songs, Whaling Songs, and While I'm at the Wheel. It is obvious, therefore, that Mr. Harlow's new book covers a far wider horizon, and is recommended reading to all who glory in maritime sailing history. We particularly commend the footnotes in which Mr. Harlow differs with Miss Colcord on many points and explains why.

Miss Colcord's father, Lincoln Colcord, was the fifth generation of deep water seamen of New England (who went to sea in 1874). She went to sea with him from 1890 to 1899, and her record takes its stand on the ground of actuality.

Our author, Mr. Harlow, after a coasting trip on the schooner "*David G. Floyd*" went to sea in December, 1875 on the medium clipper "*Akbar*" from Boston for Australia. His advantage over Miss Colcord is that he spent his life at it, spent more years afloat than Miss Colcord, and has thus broadened our knowledge of the use of chanteys and given us the latest verses and versions of many of the popular ones, which we in turn have heard sung at rendezvous of sailing enthusiasts over the past 40 years.

The illustrations are excellent and are working pictures of where and why chanteys were used. Congratulations to Mr. Harlow and the Peabody Museum!

Richard H. Randall

*Baltimore*

*Bishop Walsh of Maryknoll: Prisoner of Red China.* By Ray Kerrison. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1962. 314. $4.95.

The difficulties of writing about a saint probably match those of being one, and a biography which is as honest as it is interesting requires of a hagiographer extraordinary qualities of mind and pen. Somehow or other, and despite superficialities and inaccuracies (e.g. photo flashbulb in 1918, p. 169), the author manages to give to the reader James E. Walsh of Cumberland as he was, and is—American to the core, brave, generous, idealistic and prac-

tical, entirely dedicated to serve mankind with a Christlike love. This is an edifying book done in the popular style and based to a great extent, I assume, on the monthly reports which all Maryknoll missionaries are required to write for the Superior General of the order (p. 259). It would be nice to begin this review by writing, "I just could not put the book down." I cannot so write, because the book is not that absorbing.

On April 30, 1891, James Edward Walsh was born in Cumberland, Maryland, and in due time followed his brother, William, to Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg (Maryland not Pennsylvania, p. 32). Soon after receiving his A.B. degree in 1910, James became the second applicant for admission to the newly formed Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America known world-wide as Maryknoll.

Ordained a priest in 1915, Father Walsh with three fellow Maryknoll priests sailed for the Orient in 1918. Before long, the Holy See appointed him Prefect Apostolic of the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung—the same provinces where the xenophobia of the Chinese made the 16th century missionary efforts of Italian Jesuits so difficult.

In 1927 Father Walsh became Maryknoll's first Bishop. After eighteen years in China he was called back to the United States to fill the office of Superior General of the Society and to direct the work of Maryknoll. This he did with singular success during his ten year term. It was in 1947 that Bishop Walsh returned to China as Executive Secretary of the Catholic Central Bureau in Shanghai and, as we all know, to imprisonment in 1958 by the Chinese Communists and a twenty-year sentence to a small cell in Ward Road prison because he was "a dangerous, veteran United States imperialist spy."

While reading the book, this reviewer found himself thinking of the centuries old effort to bring Christianity to the Chinese. In the 7th century the Nestorians tried, and a Franciscan mission flourished near the end of the Yuan dynasty. Later during Ming and Manchu dynasties, armed with scientific learning to win over the scholar-official class who ruled the country, the Jesuits made modest progress (one had to be a scholar in China to pass the competitive civil service examination required of all who eyed a government office.)

A table of contents, index, and a simple map or maps of China and the missionary areas of the Bishop's activities would seem desirable. It is regrettable that they were omitted from this book.

VINCENT F. BEATTY, S. J.

*Loyola College*

# NOTES AND QUERIES

Members of the Society and subscribers to the *Magazine* will find worthy of their attention the article, "Latrobe's America" in the August 1962 number of *American Heritage.*

*Conference on the History of Western America* — The next annual meeting will be held at the Albany Hotel, Denver, Colorado, October 11-13, 1962, with the University of Denver as the host institution. Robert G. Athearn, of the University of Colorado, is the program chairman, and Allen D. Breck, of the University of Denver, is in charge of local arrangements. Papers will represent disciplines in Social Sciences, the Humanities, and the Sciences. A preliminary program will be available.

University of Denver
Department of History
University Park
Denver 10, Colorado

*Business History* — The William Underwood Company and the Richardson and Robbins Company of Dover, Delaware, are collecting documentary evidence of their history, particularly of the period before 1914. Labels, jars, newspaper advertisements, etc. are also included as significant items.

C. J. Barry, Asst. to the President
Wm. Underwood Co.
1 Red Devil Lane
Watertown 72, Mass.

*Baltimore County Historical Society*—The Baltimore County Historical Society was organized in 1959 to bring together those people interested in history and especially the history of Baltimore County. The Society's major function is to discover and collect any material which may help to establish or illustrate the history of the area: its exploration, settlement, development and activities

in peace and war; its progress in population, wealth, education, arts, science, agriculture, manufactures, trade and transportation.

Our headquarters are in the County Agriculture Center in Texas, formerly the County Almshouse, where we have the use of several rooms. One is used for the library, where the librarian is receiving books, periodicals, collections of old County newspapers and other historical information about people, churches, schools, roads and places of interest in Baltimore County. Recently the Poet's Corner of the Society, aided by a group of students, friends and relatives of Miss Lizette Woodworth Reese, who was one of America's outstanding poets, planned a most interesting program entitled "An Evening with Lizette Woodworth Reese." The Society was presented with records of Miss Reese's life and work and some of her personal belongings in recognition of the distinction she affords the county, as it was the place of her birth. The farm museum is a new project. It has acquired several old horse-drawn coaches and other farm equipment. It needs early farm implements or articles normally found and used in rural districts.

The museum committee is responsible for collecting, cataloging, cleaning, repairing and storage of historical objects, for arranging museum exhibits and for the correct historical interpretation of these exhibits. The first gifts to the museum were two Sandwich pressed glass cup plates given by a friend of the Society. Since the Indians were early inhabitants of Baltimore County, some of their artifacts, such as a stone scraper, arrowheads and axes, have been found on the farms and presented to the Society.

Among the acquisitions in the museum that date back to the Civil War are a Confederate War Bond issued June 1862; a copy of the *New York Herald,* April 15, 1865 recording the death of Abraham Lincoln; a branding iron owned by Edward Gorsuch, who was killed by his run-away slaves in Christiana, Pa., in 1851; a militia belt with a brass buckle and a gold pin worn by William Schultz during the 1840's and the Civil War; also a medical chest used by him.

A member donated a mahogany shaving box that his ancestor, Dickinson Gorsuch, 2nd, made and used about one hundred and twenty-five years ago. Some interesting clothing includes a baby's long christening dress, ladies' basques, plumes, boas, jackets with leg of mutton sleeves, a dress with a train and petticoat, several old hand-painted fans, handbags and silk and lace shawls.

Among the gifts in our museum is a child's rocker, toys and a doll. Several daguerreotypes and a small leather-bound hymn book that is dated 1869 belonged at one time to Philip Reister

Owings. There are two churns that are eighty to one hundred years old, one a wooden rocking churn. A cherry seeder and apple peeler are interesting.

We are fortunate to have in our museum an unusual sewing machine, patented by Elias Howe, Jr., in 1846. It is said to be the second machine to be manufactured by the inventor. It was bought from Mr. Howe by Henry Evans, Sr., for his wife, Harriet Hurle Evans. The sewing machine would seem quite awkward to operate now. Instead of a treadle worked by an easy foot motion, it had a blade-like iron piece near the floor which must be shoved back and forth by the foot with much effort and which operates a heavy cast iron wheel mounted horizontally beneath the table. The feeder, unlike the small metal piece less than two inches long on a modern machine, is a large iron ring about 33" in circumference. We also have a later type sewing machine, a two spool Grover & Baker that chain stitches. Both sewing machines have been restored by two members of the Society. A flax spinning whel and a two harness slot and heddle table loom have been donated.

The Society will provide for the preservation of such material and for its accessibility, as far as may be feasible, to all who wish to examine and study it.

Mrs. Frank V. Dreyer, Chairman, Museum
727 Dunkirk Rd., Baltimore 12

---

*Gosnell*—In the Registry and Vestry Proceedings of St. Thomas Church, Garrison Forest, Maryland, it is recorded on page 88 that on February 4, 1744/45, the Parish Meeting chose as Church Wardens Peter Gosnell and Cornelius Howard. Information is requested about Peter Gosnell and his descendants.

Rowland Gosnell Weber
RD 1, Malvern, Pa.

---

*Lyons*—I am seeking information as to the ancestry and descendants of Peter Lyons and his wife, Margaret, who lived in Albemarle County, Va. Peter Lyons made his will which was proved in 1764 in Albemarle Co. John Lyons was in the county as early as 1745. This Lyons family is said to be from Maryland. A Lyons family said to be related to this family definitely was from Charles Co., Md. Also, there is a tradition that the family originally came from Connecticut. Were they a part of the Puritan settlement on the western shore of Maryland?

*Woolery* — I am seeking information as to the ancestry and descendants of Lawrence Woolery and his wife, Peggy Horn, who lived in Madison Co., Kentucky. Their son, Jacob, was born in Pennsylvania in 1786. The family was Pennsylvania Dutch. What relation was Peggy Horn to Aaron Horn born in Maryland who served in the American Revolution for which service he applied for a pension in Madison Co., Ky.? What relation was Lawrence Woolery to Laurence Ohler who deeded land in Frederick Co., Md., in 1779 and Laurence Owler whose will was probated in 1768? Others in the same county were Jacob Ulry (also Ullery), will 1777; John Ulrick, deed 1772, and, as Willarick, deed in 1759; Stephen Walrich, also Ularick, deed in 1754, and as Ulrich in 1766; Peter Oler deeded land in 1770 and as Owler in 1762. Lawrence Wollery was listed in Mason Co., Ky., as was his brother, John, as Oler. They moved to Madison Co., then John moved to Harrison Co., Ky. Lawrence Woolery left Madison Co. but it is not known where he went.

E. E. Macy
726 Seventh
Astoria, Oregon

---

*Tilghman*—A member of the Society is anxious to hear from anyone who possesses a portrait of Judge James Tilghman, of "Melfield," Queen Anne's County, Md., and/or his son, Frisby Tilghman, of "Rockland," in Washington Co., and to obtain permission to take photographs of same.

---

*Gordon* — Wanted: information concerning James Gordon who migrated from Scotland to Maryland. Came to Ohio between 1796-1807. Children born in Maryland were: Nancy, Elizabeth 1773; Mary, 1774; Margaret, 1782; Martha, Jane 1796. Had several wives.

Mrs Homer Nichol
Mt. Pleasant, Ohio

## CONTRIBUTORS

Neil Strawser is a Columbia Broadcasting System news correspondent assigned to the Maryland-Atlantic area. He was graduated with the Master of Arts degree in history in 1958 from George Washington University. Mr. Strawser's article following Mr. Francis Beirne's "Sam Chase, 'Disturber,'" in the June issue places his subject in a broader context. It was the *Magazine's* opinion that both authors added much to the study of Maryland's Revolutionary period.

Dorothy Brown is assistant professor of history at Notre Dame College, Baltimore. Prof. Brown is at present conducting classes for the Peace Corps at the University of Maryland.

Howard E. Wooden is lecturer in the History of Art and the Sociology of Art at Evansville College, Evansville, Indiana. He is author of numerous articles in the field of art history, and his recently published book is entitled *Architectural Heritage of Evansville: an Interpretive Review of the 19th Century* (1962). He is currently conducting research in aspects of socio-cultural behaviour in the hospital setting under grants from the National Institute of Health.

Richard W. Griffin is editor of the *Textile History Review*. He is chairman of the history department at Wesleyan College, Georgia. He is author of several articles in professional journals and is currently writing a book on the history of cotton manufacture in the South.

COLLECTION

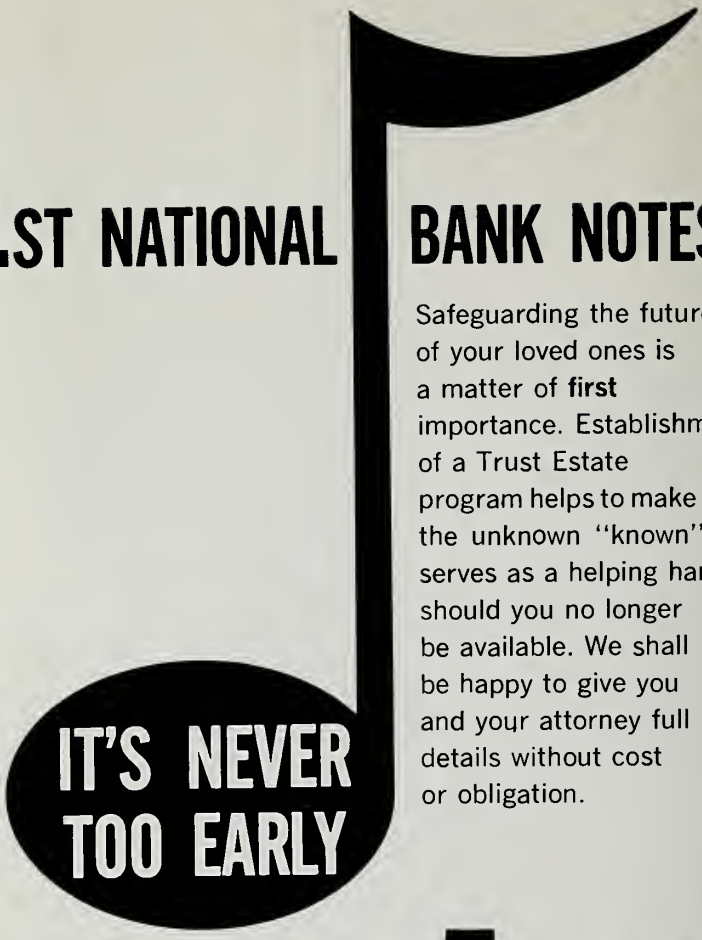
PERIODICALS
JAN 10 1963
FORT WAYNE & ALLEN COUNTY

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Water color painting "Action on St. Leonard's Creek, June 6, 1814."
Photo courtesy, the Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Va.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

*December · 1962*


1ST NATIONAL BANK NOTES
Safeguarding the future of your loved ones is a matter of **first** importance. Establishment of a Trust Estate program helps to make the unknown "known"—serves as a helping hand should you no longer be available. We shall be happy to give you and your attorney full details without cost or obligation.
IT'S NEVER TOO EARLY

# 1st NATIONAL BANK

Member Federal Deposit Ins. Corp.

**The ONE bank best for ALL your needs**

# IN 1902—

when we reached the age of 23

James F. Jeffries defeated Robert Fitzsimmons in championship fight.—*July 25.*

The first woman lawyer was admitted to the Maryland Bar.—*Sept. 24.*

Bronze statues of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and of John Hanson, both contributed by the State, were placed in Statuary Hall in the Capitol of the United States.—*Dec. 4.*

---

**Wherever you move . . . whatever you store . . . call Monumental-Security Storage Company, Baltimore agent for Allied, the World's largest, most trusted Van Line.**

**MOVING local or long distance by skilled personnel experienced in handling everything from household furnishings to priceless works of art.**

**PACKING with our exclusive Kleen-Pack method in custom containers protects even your most fragile possessions in storage and during transportation.**

**STORAGE in Baltimore's most modern concrete and steel warehouse, sprinkler equipped to give you the lowest possible insurance rate and the best possible protection.**

*Your Baltimore Agent for Allied Van Lines*

**Monumental-Security STORAGE CO.**

WINDSOR AVENUE AND MONROE STREET
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

LAfayette 3-2141 LAfayette 3-3771

*"Serving Baltimore and the Nation Since 1879"*

$ $ $ $ $ $ $ $

$ 1913 1962

The FOURTH

*Quarterly*

DIVIDEND

THIS YEAR

(105th Consecutive Dividend)
Has been declared as of
December 31, 1962 by

# FRATERNITY

# ★ *Federal*

## SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

764 WASHINGTON BLVD., BALTO. 3, MD.

Branch: Normandy Shopping Center
Rt. 40 West, Ellicott City, Md.

★ CHARTERED, SUPERVISED and INSURED
by *TWO* FEDERAL GOVERNMENT Agencies

•●•

OPEN or add to your WORRY-FREE, guaranteed LOSS-FREE Fraternity Federal Savings account NOW—Save by the 10th to EARN FROM THE FIRST.

•●•

● For BUSY MEN and WOMEN: Speedy SAVE-by-MAIL
*(Postage-paid envelopes free)*

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 57, NO. 4 DECEMBER, 1962

## CONTENTS

PAGE

Lord Francis Napier's Journal of the Burgoyne Campaign . . . Edited by *S. Sydney Bradford* 285

The Origins of Maryland's Middle Class in the Colonial Aristocratic Pattern . . . . . *James High* 334

Revolution or Reform in 1836 . *A. Clarke Hagensick* 346

Found: One Anchor from HMS *Dictator* *Frank J. Schwartz and James Green* 367

Sidelights . . . . . 371

A Cargo of Flour . . . . . *L. Wethered Barroll*

Reviews of Recent Books . . . . . 375

Kirwin, *The Inevitable Success*, by George H. Callcott

Hutchison and Rachal, eds., *The Paper of James Madison*, Vols. I and II, by Wilson Smith

Leyburn, The *Scotch-Irish*, by Rhoda M. Dorsey

Abernethy, *The South in the New Nation*, by E. James Ferguson

Livermore, *The Twilight of Federalism*, by Dorothy M. Brown

Johannsen, ed., *The Letters of Stephen A. Douglas*, by Frank Otto Gatell

Clark, ed., *Travel in The New South*, Vol. II, by George B. Tindall

Schutz, *William Shirley*, by Albert Abbott

Servies and Dolmetsch, eds., *The Poems of Charles Hansford*, by Ellen Hart Smith

Massey, *Ancestry of Ralph Carmalt Wilson*, by William B. Marye

Notes and Queries . . . . . 390

Contributors . . . . . 397

*Annual Subscription to the Magazine, $4.00. Each issue $1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.*

Richard Walsh, *Editor*

C. A. Porter Hopkins, *Asst. Editor*

Published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore 1, Md. Second-class postage paid at Baltimore, Md.

# The Susquehannah Company Papers

| Volume I | Volume II | Volume III | Volume IV |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1750-1755 | 1756-1767 | 1768-1769 | 1770-1772 |

Edited by

## JULIAN P. BOYD

AS the first four volumes of the proposed twelve-volume work, planned to include all documents concerning the Susquehannah Company as well as information on related aspects of Connecticut's western land claim, the four volumes now reissued were originally published by the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, in 1930 and 1931. Depression in 1932 interrupted the publishing project, and a flood of the Susquehanna River in 1936 destroyed most of the original edition.

The story of the Susquehannah Company of Connecticut, the towns it formed in areas claimed by Pennsylvania, and the resultant boundary dispute between the two states is part of the larger story of western land claims that resulted from the loosely-worded descriptions in seventeenth-century colonial charters. This is a valuable source of information on the westward expansion of an American colony. This limited edition makes the first four volumes available once more, to be followed soon by Volumes V and VI.

*Volumes I-IV, 453, 396, 387, and 429 pages, respectively; maps, illustrations,* $7.50 a volume

Published for
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

Ithaca, New York

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

Volume 57 DECEMBER, 1962 Number 4

# LORD FRANCIS NAPIER'S JOURNAL OF THE BURGOYNE CAMPAIGN

Edited by S. Sydney Bradford

GENERAL John Burgoyne's abortive invasion of northern New York during the summer and fall of 1777 produced momentous consequences for America. His surrender at Saratoga on October 17, 1777 rekindled revolutionary enthusiasm among Americans, dealt a stunning blow to British hopes for crushing the rebellion, and led directly to the Franco-American alliance of February 6, 1778. In a very real sense, Burgoyne's capitulation "was the hinge on which the revolution turned." [1]

[1] William Paterson to Governor Livingston, Oct. 8, 1777, Lloyd W. Smith Collection, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N. J.; "Autobiographical Letters of Peter S. Duponceau," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LX (1916), 177; Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution* (2 vol.; New York, 1952), II, 539-40; David Ramsay, *The History of the American Revolution* (2 vol.; Philadelphia, 1789), II, 55.

Surprisingly enough, there are only three printed British personal accounts of the ill-fated campaign. Even the most extensive of them, that kept by Lieutenant James M. Hadden, ends on the day of the Battle of Freeman's Farm, September 19, almost a month before the surrender. It is thus fortunate that in the Lloyd W. Smith Collection, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, New Jersey, there is a contemporary manuscript account of the invasion that supplements the information in the printed journals of the campaign.[2] This interesting record was kept by Lord Francis Napier, one of the four nobles who accompanied Gentleman Johnny's excellent and confident army into the New York wilderness.[3]

Francis Napier's family had served Scotland with distinction for many generations. One of Napier's most notable ancestors was John Napier, who invented logarithms. A decade after the mathematician's death in 1617, Charles I conferred on Sir Archibald Napier the title of Lord Napier of Merchiston, Edinsburghshire; and when Francis was born at Ipswich on

[2] The three presently printed contemporary journals are these: Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*; a brief journal of events in a letter from Burgoyne to Lord George Germain, July 11, 1777, in John Burgoyne, *A State of the Expedition From Canada* (London, 1780), App. XIV-XX; and "Diary of Joshua Pell, Junior," *The American Magazine of History*, II (Feb., 1878), 43-47, 107-112. Several accounts written after the campaign are also available. Thomas Anburey's record of the Burgoyne expedition in his *Travels through the Interior Parts of Amercia in a Series of Letters* (2 vol.; London, 1791) is a mixture of personal observation and plagiarism, as Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., points out in his article, "Thomas Anburey's 'Travels Through America': A Note on Eighteenth-Century Plagiarism," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXVII (1st Qt., 1943), 23-36. Lieutenant William Digby's record of the campaign forms part of a journal (James P. Baxter, *The British Invasion from the North. The Campaigns of Generals Carleton and Burgoyne from Canada, 1776-1778, with the Journal of Lieutenant William Digby, of the 53 D, or Shropshire Regiment of Foot* [2 vol.; Albany, N. Y., 1887]) that "is not an original kept during the campaign, but a compilation made by the author [*ibid.*, I, VII]." R. Lamb's pages concerning the invasion in his two works, *An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurences During the Late American War, from Its Commencement to the year 1783* (Dublin, 1809) and *Memoir of His Own Life* (Dublin, 1811), are, like Anburey's account, the result of personal observation and the perusal of other materials pertaining to Burgoyne's march into New York. Lamb's *Memoir* in particular owes a great deal to Anburey's work: compare, for example, pages 167-68, 170-73 with Anburey's *Travels*, I, 275-77, 293-96, and 303-06.

Several German accounts of the campaign are also in print. The longest and most informative is that edited by William L. Stone, *Memoirs and Letters and Journals of Major General Riedesel* (2 vol.; Albany, N. Y., 1868).

[3] Horatio Rogers, *A Journal Kept in Canada and upon Burgoyne's Campaign in 1776 and 1778, by Lieut. James M. Hadden, Roy. Art.* (Albany, New York, 1884), fn. c, XLVI-XLVII.

February 23, 1758 he became heir to the title from his father, William, the sixth lord. As his father was the adjutant general of the forces in Scotland, the young Napier must have grown up in a military atmosphere, and although he may have attended the University of Edinburgh between 1772 and 1774, in the latter year he succumbed to the lure of military life and joined the army.[4]

Napier, only sixteen, donned the handsome uniform of an ensign of the 31st Regiment of Foot on November 3, 1774, on the eve of the outbreak of armed conflict in America. On March 21, 1776 he became a lieutenant in the regiment's light infantry company, one of the best units in any regiment.[5] When the 31st was chosen to form part of Burgoyne's army, Napier and his servant sailed with the regiment to Canada.[6] As his journal shows, Napier participated in most of the actions on the march down the Hudson Valley, and when the spent and trapped army had to surrender he "was one of the number who piled their arms on the signing of the convention . . . ."[7] After the capitulation, he and the other members of the army marched through frequent rains to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where Napier and his fellow bedraggled soldiers were to await transportation to carry them back to England. While awaiting the implementation of the Convention, the officers endured the discomforts of their poor quarters and grumbled about the limited freedom granted them once they had signed a parole.[8]

[4] Robert Douglas, *The Peerage of Scotland* (2 vol.; Edinburgh, 1813), II, 281-82, 289, 293; Robert A. Beatson, *A Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland* (2 vol.; 2nd ed.; London, 1788), II, 15; Charles P. Finlayson, Keeper of Manuscripts, University of Edinburgh, to author, Jan. 10, 1961.

[5] Douglas, *Peerage*, II, 302-03. The British organized light infantry units during the French and Indian War, but more or less abandoned such troops after 1763. Just before the American Revolution, Sir William Howe revived the light infantry and its lightly armed, fast moving soldiers were usually in the forefront of the fighting in America, J. F. C. Fuller, *British Light Infantry in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1925), 97-98, 112, 124-35.

[6] Although Napier does not say that he brought a servant with him, he does state that he took a servant with him when he left Cambridge for Newport, Rhode Island, on his way back to England in the spring of 1778. See *infra*.

[7] Douglas, *Peerage*, II, 302-03.

[8] William M. Dabney, *After Saratoga: The Story of the Convention Army* (Albuquerque, 1954), 20, 33. See E. B. O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne* (Albany, N. Y., 1860), 176-81, for the parole signed by Napier and 188 other officers.

After the Continental Congress mulled over the Saratoga Convention, it grew more and more reluctant to adhere to the document's provisions. The members of the Congress felt that the promise to send the defeated army back to Great Britain would enable the king to dispatch troops formerly held in the British Isles to America. The Americans therefore refrained from complying with the treaty, and on January 8, 1778 Congress resolved to keep the English and German soldiers on this side of the Atlantic until Parliament ratified the Convention. Such a step by England would have meant the recognition of the independence of the United States, something that the British had no intention of doing at that time.[9] By demanding Parliamentary ratification of the Convention, the Congress had also unwittingly thwarted General Sir William Howe's intention of violating the agreement. After the vessels had picked up the Convention Army in Boston, Howe had planned to keep the British soldiers in America and send only the Germans back to England.[10]

The impasse reached on the Convention especially disappointed numerous British officers in Cambridge, many of whom longed to return home. Napier displayed a great eagerness to leave America and in conjunction with another officer wrote the Congress and requested permission to return to England on parole, or to be allowed to work out his own exchange. General William Heath, who had charge of the Convention Army in Boston, forwarded Napier's letter to Philadelphia on February 7, 1778 and the President of Congress referred it to a committee. The committee reported on March 2 and although Napier and his fellow officer were first granted permission to go to Rhode Island to arrange their exchanges, Napier's name was subsequently struck from the committee's report. On the following day Congress resolved that officers of the Convention Army should no longer be permitted to handle their own exchanges and directed Heath to inform Napier of that decision.[11] Shortly thereafter, Heath asked

[9] Dabney, *Convention Army*, 15-21.

[10] Jane Clark, "The Convention Troops and the Perfidy of Sir William Howe," *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (1932), 721-23.

[11] William Heath to Henry Laurens, Feb. 7, 1778, *Heath Papers*. Part II, Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 7th ser., IV (1904), 213; W. C. Ford

From Horatio Rogers, *A Journal Kept in Canada . . . by Lieut. James M. Hadden, Roy. Art. . . .* (Albany, 1884), facing p. 90.

Washington to consider Napier's request to be exchanged, but the commander-in-chief did nothing to help the anxious lord.[12] Seemingly blocked in his efforts to return home, it is surprising to learn that on May 16 Napier sailed into Newport, Rhode Island, along with several other officers of the Convention Army.[13] How had he managed to leave Cambridge? His journal answers that question, as on May 16 Napier wrote that he had obtained permission to leave the unhappy army by means of a bribe to the Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners. Gold thus accomplished what Congress had prohibited.[14] Napier soon crossed the Atlantic and he was formally exchanged in October, 1780.[15]

Napier continued his military career for several years after leaving America. Even before his official exchange in 1780, he had purchased a captaincy in the 35th Regiment of Foot. The government placed him on half pay in 1783, but returned him to full pay as a captain in the 4th Regiment of Foot on May 31, 1784. In December of the same year, Napier brought a majority in the same regiment and held that commission until he sold it in 1789.[16] After a hiatus of about four years, Napier resumed military life when Britain went to war with France. Shortly after the first shots had been exchanged, the king ordered the raising of seven regiments of fencibles in Scotland and Napier became the lieutenant colonel of the regiment raised by the Earl of Hopetoun, which became known as the Southern or Hopetoun Fencibles. As the regiment never

(ed.), *Journals of the Continental Congress* (34 vol.; Washington, D. C., 1909-37), X, 196, 213, 219.

[12] William Heath to George Washington, Mar. 21, 1778, *Heath Papers*, Part II, 220.

[13] *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie* (2 vol.; Cambridge, Mass.), I, 282.

[14] *Infra*. Many officers of the Convention Army bought permission to leave Cambridge and Congress heard that Lord Balcarres paid a thousand guineas for his freedom. By October, 1778 Congress ordered an investigation of such bribery. According to German officers, Joshua Mersereau, commissary of prisoners in Massachusetts, was the culprit, as he charged British officers from fifty to a hundred guineas in helping them to obtain permission to depart from Cambridge. Henry Laurens to William Heath, Oct. 10, [1778], to Horatio Gates, Oct. 29, 1778, Edmund C. Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (8 vols.; Washington, D. C.,), III, 445-46, 471; Ford, *Journals*, XII, 1065, 1109-1200; Stone, *Memoir of Gen. Riedesel*, II, 11-12; J. G. Rosengarten, *American History from German Archives* (Lancaster, Pa., 1904), 145; Dabney, *Convention Army*, 38.

[15] *Dictionary National Biography*.

[16] Douglas, *Peerage*, II, 302-03.

saw the enemy, Napier did not experience combat again and in 1799 the War Office disbanded the unit.[17]

Napier was more than just a soldier and he engaged in numerous public activities during his life. On November 11, 1789 the University of Edinburgh honored him by conferring an L.L.D.; five days later, acting as the grand master mason of Scotland, Napier laid the corner stone of the New College building.[18] In 1796, 1802, and 1807 he was elected one of the sixteen representative peers of the Scottish peerage who sat in Westminister; during the same period he performed the duties of the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Selkirk, an office he had come to occupy in 1797. His interest in matters pertaining to Scotland is also borne out by his very active participation in the affairs of the Church of Scotland and by his accepting membership in 1806 in an organization dedicated to improving the Scottish fishing industry.[19]

During these years Napier raised a large family. He had married on April 13, 1784 and his wife bore him nine children. In his seventy-fifth year the old veteran of the Saratoga campaign died, having been true to his family motto, " Readdy, aye Readdy." [20]

The journal kept by Napier is in a six by eight inch notebook and written in ink. The account consists of an introductory statement about the composition of the army; the journal proper, covering the period from May 27 through November 6, 1777; and several entries for April and May, 1778, including a long report of the British raid on Warren and Bristol, Rhode Island, May 25, 1778.

The manuscript has been printed as closely as possible to the original but some changes were deemed necessary: dashes have been deleted and periods inserted; place names and proper names have been identified in the footnotes; quotation

[17] *Ibid.*; James Paterson, *Kay's Edinburgh Portraits* (2 vol.; London, 1885), I, 141.

[18] Quotation from the MS Minutes of the Senatus Academicus, Vol. I, p. 399 a, by Charles P. Finlayson in letter to author, Jan. 10, 1961; Douglas, *Peerage*, II, 302-3. See *The Scots Magazine*, VI (Nov., 1789), 521-28 for an interesting account of the laying of the corner stone.

[19] Duglas, *Peerage*, II, 302-03.

[20] *Ibid.*; [Obituary], *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XCIII (July-Dec., 1823), 467-68. For Napier's coat-of-arms, see Plate XII, Douglass, *Peerage*, II.

marks have been inserted where quoted material in the Journal is obvious, for example, " General Orders." The asterisks appearing in the Journal represent Napier's footnotes. All of the Journal has been published excepting the " Form of Memorial for Officers who wish to retire from the Service."

## THE NAPIER JOURNAL

1777

On the Sixth of May Lieutenant General Burgoyne arrived at Quebec from London, with directions (from His Majesty) to command a Detachment from the Army under General Sir Guy Carleton [21] upon an Expedition across Lake Champlane.[22] The Detachment to consist of the Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the Army in Canada together with the Ninth, Twentieth, Royal North British Fuziliers, Twenty Fourth, Forty Seventh, Fifty Third and Sixty Second Regiments of Foot. The German Grenadiers, Light Infantry, Chasseurs, Regiments of Rhitz,[23] Spekt,[24] Reidzel,[25] Frederic,[26] Hesse Hanau and Riedzel Dragoons,[27] Indians,[28] Canadians [29] and Provincial Volunteers.[30]

[21] Carleton (Sept. 3, 1724-Nov. 10, 1808) was the governor of Canada from 1775 to 1778 and from 1786 to 1796. Although he, as well as members of the army, expressed surprise at Burgoyne's appointment to command the invasion of New York, he loyally supported Burgoyne's preparations for the campaign. *D.N.B.*; James Murray, *An Impartial History of the Present War in America* (3 vol.; Newcastle on Tyne, 1780), II, 293-94; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 187; Burgoyne, *State*, 6.

[22] Burgoyne's " Thoughts for Conducting the War from the Side of Canada," after George III and Germain had modified them, formed the basis for the British move into New York. This plan, labelled " crazy " and stupid, or " excellent " and " sound," called for a junction of Burgoyne's and Sir William Howe's troops at Albany; how that was to quell the rebellion was left unmentioned. Upon landing in Quebec, Burgoyne found his supposedly secret plan a general topic of conversation. F. J. Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne* (Indianapolis, 1927), 225; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 400-01; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, I, 14; George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats* (New York, 1959), 285-86; Hoffman Nickerson, *The Turning Point of the Revolution* (New York, 1928), 61; Jane Clark, " Responsibility for the Failure of the Burgoyne Campaign," *American Historical Review*, XXXV (1930), 543; Howard H. Peckham, *The War for Independence* (3rd ed.; Chicago, 1960), 59; Claude H. Van Tyne, *The War for Independence* (2 vol.; Boston, 1929), II, 383.

[23] Rhetz.

[24] Specht.

[25] Riedesel.

[26] Prince Frederick Regiment.

[27] Two hundred Brunswick dragoons began the campaign with feathers in their caps, pig tails, leather gauntlets and pants, and no horses. They also wore heavy leather boots and were so borne down by their uniforms and equipment that they could move only half as rapidly as the slowest English regiment. Burgoyne, *State*, XXII; Max Von Eelking, *The German Allied Troops in the North*

The Indians, Canadians, Provincial Volunteers, British Grenadiers commanded by Major Acland,[31] British Light Infantry commanded by Major the Earl of Balcarres [32] and the Twenty Fourth Regt. formed the Advanced Corps under the Command of Brigadier General Fraser (Lt. Colonel of the 24th. Regt.).[33]

The Right Wing under Major General Phillips [34] was composed of Brigadier Powell's (Lieut. Colonel of the 53rd. Regt.) [35] Brigade (formed by the 9th., 47th. & 53rd. Regiments) and Brigadier

*American War of Independence, 1776-1783* (Albany, N. Y., 1893), 130; Charles Stedman *The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War* (2 vol.; London, 1794), I, 331. See Elroy McK. Avery, *A History of the United States and Its People* (16 vol.; Cleveland) VI, 132, for a photograph of a dragoon's boot.

[28] Between 300 and 400 Indians set out with Burgoyne. Carleton's nephew, Christopher, with a painted face and nose ring, led one of the groups of savages. Burgoyne, *State,* 74; Peckham, *War for Independence,* 61.

[29] Only 148 Canadians, instead of a desired 2,000, joined the army and even they proved to be of small value because of their "mal de payz [pays]." Burgoyne, *State,* 7, 74, 102.

[30] Burgoyne had high hopes for two Provincial battalions, whose ranks increased from eighty-three on July 1 to a peak of 680 on Sept. 1, but the Loyalists failed to be dependable. Burgoyne, *State,* 74, 86, 89.

[31] Maj. John Dyke Acland, 20th Regiment of Foot ([?]—Nov. 22, 1778). Acland and his wife, Lady Harriet, were one of the prominent couples of the Burgoyne expedition. Both narrowly escaped death when their tent burned late in the night of Sept. 15; he suffered severe wounds during the Battle of Bemis Heights; and after returning to England, she became a widow when he died from a cold caught while fighting a duel. *D.N.B.*; William L. Stone, "Lady and Major Ackland," *The American Magazine of History,* IV (1880), 49-52; Baxter, *Digby's Journal,* II, fn. 193, 267-68. See Avery, *History of the U.S.,* VI, 12, for their portraits; and in the Ft. Ticonderoga museum there is a charm worn by Lady Acland during the campaign.

[32] Alexander Lindsay, sixth Earl of Balcarres (Jan. 1, 1752-May 27, 1825); a major in the 53rd Regiment of Foot. Oddly enough, Balcarres, who repulsed a strong attack by Benedict Arnold during the Battle of Bemis Heights, subsequently fought a duel with the traitor in England. *D.N.B.*; See Avery, *History of the U.S.,* VI. 123, for his portrait.

[33] Brig. Gen. Simon Fraser ([?]—Oct. 7, 1777). Fraser received a mortal wound during the Battle of Bemis Heights and was buried on the battlefield. *D.N.B.* M. Riedesel (*Letters and Memoirs Relating to the War of American Independence* [New York, 1827], 169-72) gives a graphic description of his last moments; Anburey (*Travels,* I, facing p. 432) has an illustrative sketch of the burial scene.

[34] Maj. Gen. William Phillips (1731 [?]—May 13, 1781). Phillips was an artilleryman who acted as Burgoyne's second in command and who assumed leadership of the Convention Army after Burgoyne returned to England in the spring of 1778. After Phillips had been exchanged in Oct. 1780, he sailed to Virginia and replaced Benedict Arnold, who had been instrumental in defeating Burgoyne, as commander of the British invasion of Virginia. Phillips died of a fever in Petersburg, Va., and was buried there. *D.N.B.*; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal,* App. No. 1, 345, 348, 356.

[35] Brig Henry Watson Powell ([?]—July 14, 1814). He commanded the 1st Brigade of the right wing of the army. Baxter, *Digby's Journal,* II, 196.

Hamilton's (Lt. Colonel of the R.N.B.F.)[36] Brigade (formed by the R.N.B.F. 20th. and 62 Regiments). The Left Wing under Major General Reidzel[37] consisted of the German Regiments of Rhitz, Reidzel and Spekt commanded by Brigadier Spekt,[38] and of Frederic and Hesse Hanau commanded by Brigadier Gall.[39] The German Grenadiers, Light Infantry and Chasseurs under the command of Lieut. Colonel Breymen[40] formed the Corps de Reserve. The Reidzel Dragoons were employed to cover Head Quarters.[41]

Lt. Col. St. Leger's[42] (34th. Regt.) detachment (intended to proceed down the Mohawk River) consisted of 100 men from the 8th. Reg. 100 men from the 34th. Regt. Sir John Johnston's[43] Regt.

[36] Brig. James Inglis Hamilton ([?]—July 14, 1814). Hamilton led the 2nd Brigade of the right wing. *Ibid.*, fn. 148, 196-99.

[37] Maj. Gen. Friederich Aldolphus Riedesel (June 3, 1738-Jan. 6, 1800). Riedesel, a very experienced, competent, and strict soldier, led Burgoyne's German troops. M. Riedesel accompanied her husband on the campaign and their respective accounts provide a full, colorful, and interesting history of the invasion. See Avery, *History of U.S.*, VI, 130, for their portraits.

[38] Brig. Gen. Friederich Johann Specht ([?]—June 2, 1787): Colonel of the Regiment Specht and commander of the 1st German Brigade, left wing of the army. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, fn. av,45; Baxter's *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 150, 197-99.

[39] Brig. Gen. W. R. von Gall: Colonel of the Regiment Hesse Hanau and the commander of the 2nd German Brigade, left wing. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, fn. ao,36; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, fn. 149, 197-99.

[40] Lt. Col. Heinrich Christoph Breymen ([?]—Oct. 7, 1777).

[41] There is general agreement that Burgoyne's army constituted a fine fighting force. Its effective strength, as reported by Burgoyne on July 1, 1777, was 7,213 officers and men, comprised of the following: British, 3,724; German, 3,016; Canadians, Provincials, and Indians, some 650; plus 473 artillerymen, seventy-eight of whom were German. Indeed, the army's most debatable aspect was its leader, who had confidently bet Charles Fox that he would return victorious to England by Dec. 25, 1777; who displayed contempt for the rebels; and who allowed officers' families, plus soldiers' wives and other women, to accompany the army. Outside of a squabble between British and German troops on July 16, in general they marched together with little more than bickering between themselves. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 402; Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 319-20; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, I, 16; William L. Stone, *The Campaign of Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne, and the Expedition of Lieut. Col. Barry St. Leger* (Albany, N. Y., 1877), 2-3; Burgoyne, *State*, 8; Thomas G. Frothingham, *Washington: Commander in Chief* (Boston, 1930), fn. 2, 179; Edward B. de Fonblanque, *Political and Military Episodes in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century Derived from the Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne* (London, 1876), 337; M. Riedesel, *Letters*, 138; O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 45.

[42] Lt. Col. Barry St. Leger (1737-1789). Burgoyne sent St. Leger on a wide sweep to the right, over Lake Ontario to Oswego and then down the Mohawk River to Albany, where he was to join the main army and Howe's forces. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 256; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 477.

[43] Sir John Johnson (1742-Jan. 4, 1830). Johnson, son and heir of Sir William Johnson, remained loyal to the crown, received a colonel's commission, and raised two battalions of Loyalists known as the Royal Greens. J. Watts De Peyster, *Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson* (Albany, N. Y., 1882), IX, XXXIII;

of New York 133 the Hanau Chasseurs 340 with some Canadians & Indians.

Journal of Occurrences Campaign, 1777.

May.

27th. The Advanced Corps was reviewed by Lieut. General Burgoyne preparatory to their taking the Field.

30th. The 20th. 24th. 31st. & 47th. Light Infantry Company's marched from Longuille [44] to La Prairie [45] (to join the other Six Company's of Light Infantry) and encamped there.

June

2nd. Marched from La Prairie to Savanne.

3rd. From Savanne to St. Johns.[46] Crossed the River to Hazells house, and remained there the fourth.

5th. Left Hazells house and arrived at Point au Fer.[47]

8th. Proceeded up the Lake [48] to the Riviere au Sable.

11th. Left Riviere au Sable and landed at the mouth of the River Bouquet.

12th. The 20th. 24th. 31st. and 47th. Light Infantry Company's (under the command of Captn. Craig) [49] took post at Gililand's [50] house about three miles from the mouth of the Bouquet River.

13th. Erected a Log work upon a small eminence in front of the camp.[51]

14th. Begun a redoubt a little to the Right of the Camp.

16th. The remaining of the Six Company's of Light Infantry joined us at Gililands farm.

Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (2 vol.; Boston, 1864), I, 577-82.

[44] Longueuil, a mile and a half below Montreal and on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence River.

[45] About ten miles below Longueuil.

[46] On the western side of the Richeleu or Sorel River.

[47] Point Au Fer forms the north east coast of King's Bay in Lake Champlain. Peter S. Palmer, *History of Lake Champlain* (Albany, N. Y., 1866), 7-8.

[48] Lake Champlain.

[49] Capt. James Henry Craig, 47th Regiment of Foot. W. C. Ford, *British Officer Serving in the American Revolution, 1774-1783* (Brooklyn, 1897). 53.

[50] Now Willsboro, New York. William Gilliland (1734-Feb. 1796), a Tory, owned the house and surrounding farm, all of which he lost during the Revolution. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, fn. be,57; *New York: A Guide to the Empire State* (New York, 1940), 536.

[51] While the advanced corps moved to Gilliland's farm, the rest of the army assembled at St. Johns. There, the troops of Burgoyne, in good health, discipline, and spirits, paraded and in effect formally opened the campaign. In sailing down Lake Champlain, the army moved about twenty miles a day. Anburey, *Travels*, I, 235-36; Lamb, *Journal of Occurences*, 135; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, I, 17, II, 188; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 404.

17th. Two Three Pounders came to the Post at Gililands Farm under the command of Lieut. Thompson R.A.

21st. A Congress of Indians held at Brigadier Frasers Camp, in which Genl. Burgoyne prohibited the Indians from scalping their Prisoners while alive.[52] After the Congress the Generals &c. visited the post at Gililands Farm.

22nd. The Light Infantry received orders to strike their Tents and to come down the River to Brigr. Genl. Fraser's Camp, from whence they proceeded up the Lake about one Quarter of a mile above the River Bouquet and encamped there.

24th. The Corps went to Button Mould Bay.[53]

25th. Left Button Mould Bay and arrived at Chimney Point.[54] In the evening Lord Balcarres with five Company's of British Light Infantry attended the Brigadier upon a party of observation as far as Putnams Creek a very great Smoke appearing to come from some place near Ticonderoga, but could not perceive the cause of it.[55]

26th. Brigadier Frasers Corps left Chimney Point (to make room for the rest of the Army) and encamped at Putnams Creek.[56] A Party of Indians brought in two Scalps.

30th. Left Putnams Creek and encamped at Four Mile Point.[57]

## "A Proclamation [58]

By John Burgoyne Esqr. Lieut. General of His Majesty's Armies in America, Colonel of the Queens Regt. of Light Dragoons, Gov-

[52] At this much criticized meeting with about 400 members of the Iroquois, Algonquian, Abnaki, and Ottawa tribes, Burgoyne, as he later explained, urged the Indians to "spread terror without barbarity" among the rebels. Anburey incorrectly states that the conference was held on June 23. Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution*, II, 26; Murray, *Impartial History*, II, 297; Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny*, 153; Anburey, *Travels*, I, 248; Burgoyne, *State*, 7. For Burgoyne's speech and the reply of the Indians, see *ibid.*, App., XII-XIV.

[53] Ten miles above Crown Point, on the east side of the lake. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 396.

[54] Chimney Point, Vermont, is just a mile across Lake Champlain from Crown Point, New York.

[55] Probably smoke from the saw mills and block houses near Lake George that the Americans set fire to as the British storm gathered. William Henry Smith, *The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair* (2 vol.; Cincinnati, 1882), I, 61.

[56] See Hadden's map, frontispiece. For an excellent series of maps for the whole of the campaign, see Burgoyne, *State*, the frontispiece and the four maps in the Appendix.

[57] So-called because it was four miles above Ticonderoga, Burgoyne, *State*, XIV.

[58] Although printed elsewhere, a reading of this bombast and Burgoyne's June 21 talk to the Indians (Burgoyne, *State*, App. XII-XIV) underscores his

ernor of Fort William in North Britain, One of the Representatives of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament and Commanding an Army and Fleet employed in an Expedition from Canada c&c, &c.

The Forces entrusted to my command are designed to act in concert, and upon a common principle, with the numerous Armies & Fleets which already display in every quarter of America, the Power, the Justice, and, when properly sought, the Mercy of the King.

The causes in which the British Arms are thus exerted applies to the most affecting interests of the human heart: and the military Servants of the Crown, at first called forth for the sole purpose of restoring the Rights of the Constitution, now combine with Love of their Country and Duty to their Sovereign, the other extensive incitement which spring from a due sense of the general privileges of Mankind. To the Eyes and Ears of the temperate part of the Public, and to the Breasts of suffering thousands in the Provinces, be the melancholy appeal whether the present unnatural Rebellion has not been made a foundation of the compleated System of Tyranny that over God in his displeasure suffered for a time to be exercised over a [?] and stubborn generation.

Arbitrary imprisonments, confiscation of property, persecution and torture unprecedented in the inquisitions of the Romish Church are among the palapable enormities that verify the affirmative. These are inflicted by assemblies and committees who dare to profess themselves friends to Liberty, upon the most quiet subjects, without distinction of age or sex, for the sole crime, often for the sole suspicion, of having adhered in principle to the Government under which they were born, and to which by every Tye divine and human they owe allegiance. To consummate these shocking proceedings the profanation of religion is added to the most profligate prostitution of common reason, the consciences of men are set at nought and multitudes are compelled not only to bear arms, but also to swear subjection to an usurpation they abhore.

abysmal misunderstanding of the Americans and Indians. The rebels reacted in a scornful and satirical fashion to the proclamation, but on July 11 Burgoyne wrote Germain that his " manifesto " was a great success. James Thatcher, *A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War* (Boston, 1823), 97; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 229-33; Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny*, 148-51; Burgoyne to Germain, July 11, 1777, Burgoyne, *State*, XX. See Frank Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution* (2 vol.; New York, 1860), I, 454-63, for some sarcastic answers to Burgoyne's threat.

Animated by these considerations; at the head of troops in the full powers of health, discpline and valour; determined to strike where necessary, and anxious to spare where possible, I, by these presents invite and exhort all persons, in all places where the progress of this Army may point —— and by the blessing of God I will extend it far —— to maintain such a conduct as may justify me in protecting their lands, habitations and family's. The intention of this address is to hold forth Security not Depredation to the Country.

To those whom principle and spirit may induce to partake the glorious task of redeeming their Countrymen from Dungeons and reestablishing the blessings of legal government, I offer encouragement and employment; and upon the first intelligence of their associations I will find means to assist their undertakings. The domestick, the industrious, the infirm and even the timid inhabitants I am desirous to protect, provided they remain quietly at their houses, that they do not suffer their cattle to be removed, nor their corn or forage to be secreted or destroyed; that they do not break up their bridges or roads nor by any other acts directly or indirectly endeavour to obstruct the operations of the Kings Troops, or supply or assist those of the Enemy.

Every species of provision brought to my Camp will be paid for at an equitable rate and in solid Coin.

In consciousness of Christianity, my Royal Masters' Clemency and the honour of Soldiership, I have dwelt upon this invitation, & wished for more persausive terms to give it impression : And let not people be led to disregard it by considering their distance from the immediate situation of my Camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my directions, and they amount to Thousands, to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America. I consider them the same wherever they may lurk.

If not withstanding these endeavours, & sincere inclinations to effect them, the Phrenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the Eyes of God and Men in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the State against the willful outcasts —— The Messengers of Justice & of Wrath await them in the field; and devastation, famine and every concomitant horror that a reluctant but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return.

Camp at June 1777

J. Burgoyne"

By Order of His Excellency
the Lt. General
Robt. Kingston, Secretary.[59]

July

1st. Arrived at Three Mile Point from which place we had a distinct view of the Rebel Fortifications upon Mount Independence.[60]

2nd. The Brigadier, Major Grant,[61] Major the Earl of Balcarres with a Detachment of about 560 men from the Corps, besides Indians, Canadians and Jossops Royalists[62] took Post on a rising ground near the Ticonderoga Saw Mills, one of which had been destroyed that morning by the Rebels.[63] The Indians &c going too near the Lines brought on a Skirmish in which Lieut. Haughton[64] of the 53rd. Regt. two privates of the 62nd. Regt. (serving in Captn. Frasers Company of Rangers) one private of Jessops and three Indians were Wounded. One Indian killed and one private (Ranger) of the 47th. Regt. taken.[65]

3rd. Remained upon the Hills.[66] The Rebels in the Evening fired

[59] Kingston was Burgoyne's deputy adjutant-general and was made a lieutenant colonel on Aug. 29, 1777. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal,* fn. bh,62.

[60] See Nickerson, *Turning Point,* 130-31, for a fine contemporary plan of the topography and fortifications at Ticonderoga.

A fort made of pickets, suitable only for small arms, sat on top of Mt. Independence, a hill on the east side of the narrows between itself and Ticonderoga. Additional works also stood at the foot of the hill, near the water. Smith, *St. Clair,* I, 48-49, 60.

[61] Maj. Robert Grant, 24th Regiment of Foot. Ford, *British Officers,* 84.

[62] Ebenezer and Edward Jessup, holders of extensive lands in northern New York, became Tories and attempted to raise loyalist troops for Burgoyne. During the war their property was confiscated and they lived as exiles after the peace. Lt. Col. John Peters, of Connecticut, raised the Queen's Loyal Rangers and also fought with Burgoyne; in 1788 he died while still petitioning the king for payment of his services during the Revolution. Baxter, *Digby's Journal,* II, fn. 145, 194-95; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal,* fn. bo, 47, App. No. 14, 477-83; Sabine, *Loyalists,* II, 183; Thomas Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War* (2 vol.; New York, 1879), I, Note LX, 686-87.

[63] About noon, Fraser, with some 500 men, seized Mt. Hope and isolated the Americans from Lake George. Gordon says that the rebel loss of Mt. Hope "was not occasioned by cowardice, or incapacity, but actual imbecility." Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign,* 14-15; Baxter, *Digby's Journal,* II, 202; William Gordon, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America* (4 vol.; London, 1788), II, 480.

[64] Lieut. Richard Haughton. Ford, *British Officers,* 91.

[65] Haughton had been sent out to bring in the Indians, whose drunkeness had emboldened them to move too near the American lines. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal,* 83; Pell, "Diary," 107.

[66] Fraser's entire force took position on Mt. Hope on July 3. Also, a general order of July 3 forbade the selling of liquor to the Indians. Burgoyne, *State,* XV; O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne,* 24-25.

a few shots upon our Camp, one of which went through two Tents of the 62 L.I.[67]

4th. The Rebels still amused themselves firing random Shots at us, one of which killed an Artillery man and another passed thro' two tents of the 31st L.I. but without doing any other damage.

5th. A battery begun to be raised on Sugar Hill, a very advantageous situation and entirely commanding the Forts of Ticonderoga & Mount Independence.[68] The Rebels set fire to two barns in front of their lines.

6th. At day light two Deserters[69] brought intelligence that the Enemy had abandoned Ticonderoga. The Brigadier at the head of the Advanced Corps immediately Marched and took possession of that place and Mount Independence which they had likewise had deserted. They retreated without burning or destroying their stores or Barracks.[70]

RETURN OF ORDNANCE TAKEN 6TH. JULY 1777.

| Thirty two Pounders | Spiked | Twenty four Pounders | Spiked | Eighteen Pounders | Spiked | Twelve Pounders | Spiked | Nine Pounders | Spiked | Six Pounders | Spiked | Four Pounders | Spiked | Two Pounders | One Pounder | 2 Inch Howitzers | Petards | Brass Mortar 5½ Inch |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 10 | 6 | 10 | 8 | 18 | 6 | 34 | 15 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |

[67] Light Infantry.

[68] The only obstacle to the British capture of all important Sugar Loaf Hill or Mt. Defiance, which dominated Ticonderoga and Mt. Independence, was the hill's rough, stony slopes. Although certain Americans had realized the hill's importance and had suggested that it be fortified, neither General Horatio Gates nor St. Clair did that. Indeed, the Ticonderoga garrison expressed amazement when the British placed six cannon on Mt. Defiance's summit. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 204-05 and fn. 154; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 407; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 16; Thacher, *Military Journal*, 98.

[69] Digby says that three American deserters informed the British of the abandonment of Ticonderoga. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 208.

[70] Because of the British occupation of Mt. Defiance, St. Clair fled from Ticonderoga between two and three a.m., July 6. The buildings were not burned, except the quarters of Gen. Roche de Fermoy, as St. Clair had not wanted to alert the enemy to his move. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 17-18; Gordon, *Rise and Progress*, II, 481-82.

Shot

Round Shot. 32 Prs. Thirty. 24 Prs. Fifty Four. 18 Prs. Two hundred & sixty eight. 12 Prs. Three hundred & fifty nine. 9 Prs. Two hundred & eighty. 6 Prs. Eight hundred & eighty Six. 4 Prs. Twelve. 3 Prs. Seventy.

Grape Shot 32 Prs. Nineteen. 24 Prs. Forty. 18 Prs. Sixty six. 12 Prs. Fifteen. 9 Prs. Eight. 6 Prs. Eighty four. 8 Inch Howitzers Ten.

Double headed Shot. 32 Prs. Twenty. 18 Prs. Sixty eight. 12 Prs. Forty Six. 9 Prs. Ninety. 6 Prs. Fifty two.

Shells

Thirteen Inch 30. Ten Inch 40. Eight Inch 187. Five & ½ Inch 219. Four & 2 - 5th. Inch 170.

Iron Round Shot of (8 OZ s.)
(1 1/2 ) Boxes 39

6th. The advanced Corps pursued the Rebels about fourteen miles and lay upon their Arms all Night.[71]

7th. Marched at daybreak. About five O'Clock in the morning came up with a body of about 2000 Rebels at a place called Hubbertown.[72] The Brigadier observing a commanding ground upon the left of his Light Infantry ordered it to be possessed by that Corps, and a considerable body of the Enemy attempting the same, they met. The Enemy were driven back to their original post. The advanced guard under Major Grant were by this time engaged, & the Grenadiers were advanced to sustain them & to prevent the Right flank being turned. The Brigadier remained upon the Left (with part of the Light Infantry) where the Enemy aided by Logs and Trees[73] defended themselves long, but at length gave way. Being prevented from gaining the Castletown

[71] Fraser, followed by Riedesel, immediately crossed the unharmed and undefended bridge connecting Ticonderoga and Mt. Independence and marched under a hot morning sun over hilly ground until one p.m. in pursuit of the rebels. After a halt and consultation with Riedesel, Fraser moved to within three or four miles of the American rearguard. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign,* 19-20; Anburey, *Travels,* I, 288-89; Baxter, *Digby's Journal,* II, 208-209; Burgoyne, *State,* XVII.

[72] Without waiting for Riedesel, Fraser set off at three a.m. with his 850 men, each carrying sixty pounds of equipment, and came upon the near thousandman American rearguard, just as it was forming near Hubbardton, Vermont. Today the battlefield is marked by a monument. Burgoyne, *State,* XVII; Baxter, *Digby's Journal,* II, 210; Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny,* 167; Stone, *Campaign of Burgoyne,* 19; *Vermont: A Guide to the Green Mountain State* (New York, 1937), 318.

[73] Pell says the Americans had breastworks made of "large Trees, laid one upon the other . . ." Pell, "Diary," 107.

road, they rallied and renewed their action. They were again put into confusion and their retreat over Pitsford mountains prevented by the Left of the Light Infantry and part of the Grenadiers who gained the summit of the hill by an ascent which appeared almost inaccessible. This threw them into confusion, and Major General Reidzel arriving with the Chasseurs Company and 80 Grenadiers & Light Infantry, took up his ground with great judgment upon the Left of the Brigadiers troops. Major Barnard led the Chasseurs into action with great gallantry. Their rifle pieces did great execution.[74] The enemy fled on all sides. Their loss amounted to about 200 killed, among other officers the commanding officer Colonel Francis[75] left dead in the field. Above 600 men were wounded many of whom perished in

RETURN OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE ACTION AT HUBBERTOWN 7TH. JULY 1777.

| | *Killed* | | | *Wounded* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BRITISH LIGHT INFANTRY | Lieuts. | Serjts. | Rank & File | Major | Captns. | Lieuts. | Serjts. | Rank & File |
| 9th Company | " | 1 | 1 | " | " | " | " | 5 |
| 20th. Company | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | 2 |
| 21st. Company | " | " | 6 | " | " | " | " | 10 |
| 24th. Company | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | 8 |
| 29th. Company | 1 | " | 1 | " | " | " | 1 | 14 |
| 31st. Company | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | 1 |
| 34th. Company | " | 1 | 2 | " | 1 | " | " | 22 |
| 47th. Company | " | " | 3 | " | 1 | " | " | 2 |
| 53rd. Company | " | " | 1 | 1 | " | 1 | " | 2 |
| 62nd. Company | " | " | 3 | " | " | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| Total | 1 | 2 | 17 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 70 |

[74] Fraser's hasty attack met stern resistance for three hours and Napier fails to point out that the English faced a worsening situation until Riedesel arrived. There is general agreement that the arrival of the Germans decided the contest, except for Hudleston who says nothing about Fraser's marching without Riedesel. Instead, he places the blame for the narrowness of the contest on the late arrival of the Brunswickers. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 210, 212, 213; Burgoyne, *State*, XVIII; Pell, "Diary," 107; Lamb, *Journal of Occurences*, 138-39; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 85; Murray, *Impartial History*, II, 313; Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny*, 160.

[75] Col. Ebenezer Francis (Dec. 22, 1743-July 7, 1777), who organized the Eleventh Massachusetts Regiment to help oppose Burgoyne. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, I, fn. 152, 211-12.

[76] Total American casualties were twelve officers and 312 men. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 414.

[77] Col. Nathan Hale (Sept. 23, 1743-Sept. 23, 1780). Hale's quick surrender to the British did much to insure Fraser's success at Hubbardton. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 161, 215-16.

the woods.[76] One Colonel,[77] 7 Captains, & 10 Subalterns & 210 privates were made prisoners. The British troops engaged were part of the Light Infantry & Grenadiers with two company's of the 24th. Regt.
Lt. Douglas 29th. killed.[78] Capt. Harris 34th.[79] Capt. Craig 47th. Major Earl of Balcarres & Lieut. Cullen 53rd.[80] Lieut. Jones 62nd.[81] Wounded.

RETURN OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED OF THE BATTALION OF BRITISH GRENADIERS. 7TH. JULY 1777.

| | *Killed* | | | *Wounded* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lieuts. | Serjts. | Rank & File | Major | Captns. | Lieuts. | Serjts. | Rank & File |
| 9th. Company | " | " | 1 | " | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| 20th. Company | " | " | 1 | 1 | " | " | " | " |
| 21st. Company | " | " | 1 | " | " | " | 1 | 5 |
| 24th. Company | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | 2 |
| 29th. Company | " | " | 3 | " | " | 1 | 2 | 11 |
| 31st. Company | " | " | 1 | " | " | " | " | 1 |
| 34th. Company | " | " | 3 | 1 | 1 | " | " | 8 |
| 47th. Company | " | " | 1 | " | " | " | " | 1 |
| 53rd. Company | " | " | 2 | " | " | " | " | 2 |
| 62nd. Company | " | " | " | 1 | " | " | " | 1 |
| Total | " | " | 13 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 37 |

Captn. Stapleton,[82] Lt. Rowe 9th. Major Acland 20th. Lt. Steele 29th.[83] Captn. Ross,[84] Lt. Richardson 34th.[85] and Captn. Shrimpton 62nd.[86] Wounded. N.B. Captn. Stapleton died of his Wounds.

| | *Killed* | | | | *Wounded* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 Compy. | Major | Lt. | Serjt. | Rank & File | Lieut. | Serjt. | Rank & File |
| 24th Reg. | 1 | " | " | 4 | " | 2 | " |
| Marines | " | 1 | " | " | " | " | " |
| Germans | " | " | 1 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 12 |
| Total | 1 | 1 | 1 | 13 | 1 | 3 | 12 |

[78] Lt. James Douglas. Anburey says that as Douglas was being carried off the field he received another bullet in the heart. Ford, *British Officers*, 61; Anburey, *Travels*, I, 300.
[79] Capt. John Adolphus Harris. Ford, *British Officers*, 90.
[80] Lt. William Cullen. *Ibid.*, 55.
[81] Lt. John Jones. *Ibid.*, 103.
[82] Capt. Francis Samuel Stapleton, 9th Regiment of Foot. *Ibid.*, 166.
[83] Lt. Thomas Steele. *Ibid.*, 166.
[84] Capt. John Ross. *Ibid.*, 154.
[85] Lt. William Richardson. *Ibid.*, 150.
[86] Capt. John Shrimpton. *Ibid.*, 161.

Major Grant 24th. and Lt. Haggart[87] of the Marines (doing duty with the 9th. Grenrs.) Killed.

8th. Remained at Hubbertown.

9th. Left our Sick at Hubbertown under guard and marched to Head Quarters at Skenesborough.[88]

10th. Encamped on the rising ground to the left of Skenesborough House.

General Orders.[89] Counter Sign Falmouth

On the 6th of July the Enemy were dislodged from Ticonderoga, by the meer countenance and activity of the Army, and driven on the same day beyond Skenesborough on the Right & to Hubbertown on the Left, with the loss of all their Artillery, Five of their armed Vessels taken & blown up (by the spirited conduct of Captn. Carter[90] of the R. A. with a part of his brigade of Gun boats) a great

[87] He was shot in both eyes. Anburey, *Travels*, I, 300.

[88] Renamed Whitehall in 1788; see Hadden's map. Philip Skene founded Skenesborough in 1765 and became a Tory during the Revolution. He served with Burgoyne, who alone had great faith in his views on the rebels and terrain. Fraser joined the main army here after a hot and difficult march from Hubbardton. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, App. No. 16, 505-17; Palmer, *Lake Champlain*, 2; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 220-21.

Burgoyne decided to march from Skenesborough to Ft. Edward, rather than to return to Ticonderoga and sail to Ft. George and march over an easy road to Ft. Edward. Although he later stated that he adopted that course of action because he feared a backward movement would depress his troops, his decision puzzled some of his officers and has ever since puzzled students of his campaign. To this day some historians repeat the story that Burgoyne's route followed Skene's advice and that Skene had a road built to his settlement. In any event, Burgoyne's army had to labor mightily in the heat and amidst swarms of insects to clear the naturally rough route of the additional infinite number of boulders and trees the Americans used to block the passage of the enemy. Burgoyne, *State*, 12; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 227; Nickerson, *Turning Point*, 163-64, 166-69; Eelking, *German Allied Troops*, 130; Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 327; Gordon, *Rise and Progress*, II, 486-89; Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny*, 162; Lamb, *Journal of Occurences*, 144.

[89] Napier does not include the complete general orders for the day, but they are printed in Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 223-26 and Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 91-93; Hadden dates the orders, "July 11." O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 32-35, has what Napier copied, except for the list of ships taken at Skenesborough. All of the copies of the orders agree in meaning, but they show a wide variation in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization. When important differences occur in the texts of the orders that Napier and others copied, they will be pointed out; but it is suggested that those especially interested in these documents personally compare the various copies.

[90] Capt. John Carter, who pursued the American vessels that fled from Ticonderoga. Carter and his gunboats caught up with the rebel ships at Skenesborough and destroyed them and the baggage they held. Carter was the second oldest artillery captain under Burgoyne and died while still a member of the Convention Army, in March, 1779. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 23; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, fn. ce, 91-92; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 205-06.

quantity of ammunition, provisions, stores of all sorts and the greatest part of their baggage. On the 7th. Brig. Genl. Fraser at the head of little more than half of the Advanced Corps and without Artillery (which with the utmost endeavor it was impossible to get up) came up with near 2000 [91] of the Enemy strongly posted, attacked & defeated them, with the loss on the Enemy's part of many of their principal officers, 200 killed on the spot, a much larger number wounded, and about 200 taken prisoners.[92] Major General Reidzel with his advanced guard (consisting of the Chasseur company and 80 Grenrs and Light Infantry) [93] arrived in time to sustain Brigr. Fraser, and by his judicious Orders and a spirited execution of them, obtained for himself & troops a share in the Glory of the Action. On the 8th. Lt. Col. Hill [94] at the head of the 9th. Regiment was attacked near Fort Anne by more than Six times his number and repulsed the Enemy with great loss after a continued fire of three hours. In consequence of this action Fort Anne was burnt & abandoned and a part of this Army is now in possession of the Country on the other side.[95] These rapid Successes after exciting a proper sense of what we owe to God, entitles the Troops in general to the warmest praise, and in particular, distinction is due to Brigr. Genl. Fraser, who, by his conduct, and bravery (supported by the same qualities in the Officers & Soldiers under his command) effected an Exploit of material service to the King and of

[91] See *supra.*, fn. 72.

[92] For American losses, see *supra*, fn. 77.

[93] O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 33, gives no specific number; Digby (Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 224) says that forty Grenadiers and Light Infantry appeared; and Hadden (Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, II, 92) says that just "the Chasseur Company and Eighty Grenadiers" arrived.

[94] Lt. Col. John Hill. Just before the laying down of arms after the surrender of Burgoyne, Hill hid the colors of the 9th Regiment. When he returned to England, he delivered the colors to the king, who rewarded him with a colonelcy. In hiding the colors, Hill violated the Convention. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 169, 224-25.

[95] Hill had pursued some Americans to Ft. Anne (see Hadden's map); they, after receiving an unexpected reinforcement and learning of Hill's small number of men, dashed from the fort to attack the British. Some 550 rebels and 200 British fired at each other through a dense wood, with the Americans finally breaking off the fight when they thought they heard the approach of enemy reinforcements.

Ft. Anne was built in 1709 and its site lies about a mile outside of the present village of Ft. Anne, New York. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 24-26; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 415-16; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 166, 221; *New York: A Guide*, 623-24.

signal honour to the profession of Arms. This corps have the further merit of having supported fatigue & bad weather without Bread and without Murmur.

List of

Vessels taken & destroyed at Skenesborough 6 July 1777.
Trumbull Galley. Two 18 Prs. Two 6 Prs. Six 4 Prs. Four 2 Prs. and 12 Swivels taken.
Liberty Schooner, laden with powder, taken.
Revenge Sloop, burn't and blown up.
Gates Galley, Two 12 Prs., Two 6 Prs., Three 4 Prs., Four 2 Prs., and 8 Swivels, burnt and blown up.
Enterprize Schooner, a Provision Vessel, burnt.

13th. Being Sunday Divine Service was performed according to orders. In the Evening Genl. Burgoyne rode along the front of the Advanced Corps and of the Line, after which a feu de joye was fired by all the Artillery and Small Arms.[96]

19th. General Burgoyne held a Congress with the Ottawaw &c Indians who arrived two days before.[97]

23rd. The Advanced Corps left Skenesborough. The baggage going up Wood Creek in the Batteaux. Arrived at Gordons House and lay upon our Arms all Night.

24th. Marched at four O'Clock in the Morning and arrived at Fort Anne.[98] The Indians brought in some scalps. Accounts received of the Indians having surprised the Advanced Guard of the Rebels, killed ten, and brought off 13 Prisoners. This occasioned the retreat of the Rebel guard.

[96] In order to celebrate his early successes, which raised British confidence to dangerous heights as the rebels sought to remedy their desperate position, Burgoyne had his whole force participate in a *feu de joie* on July 13. Unfortunately, it rained as that Sunday afternoon's quiet was shattered when the ships at Skenesborough fired their guns, then the artillery, and finally the massed troops shot their small arms. Burgoyne had already written a proud letter (July 11) to Germain about his victories, which Horace Walpole labelled "Julius Caesar Burgonius's Commentaries." O'Callaghan *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 39; Lamb, *Journal of Occurences*, 140; Murray, *Impartial History*, II, 314-15; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, I, 193-95; Burgoyne to Germain, July 11, 1777, Burgoyne, *State*, XX; George O. Trevelyan, *The American Revolution* (New York, 1907), Pt. III, fn. I, 117.

[97] A captain's guard, with the standards of the oldest regiment, honored the Indians as they met with Burgoyne. Once again, Burgoyne cautioned his savage friends to scalp only the dead. O'Callaghan's *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 45; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 228-29.

[98] It took the advanced guard two days to march about fourteen miles to Ft. Anne, largely because of delays due to the obstacles created by the Americans. When they reached the fort, the air was still permeated with the smell of the unburied dead from the fight of July 9. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 233-34.

25th. Remained at Fort Anne. The Rebels upon abandoning this post, burnt the Barracks. The Fort is composed of Palisades upon the top of a small rising ground sloping down to a river called Wood Creek, and might easily be defended by a small body of men against musquetry tho' incapable of resisting the smallest piece of Field Artillery. The form of it is square with a bastion at three of the Angles. The Palisades are about eleven feet high. The Barracks were built in two rows and consisted of two Story's. The Creek is navigable for Batteaux from Skenesborough to this place tho' the Rebels attempted to block up the channel by falling trees on both sides of the River with their branches falling into the Center, but by the assistance of the Loyalists they were drawn out and a passage cleared. About half a mile from this place on the Skenesborough road is a Rock where part of the 9th. Regt. were attacked by a body of the Rebels above Six times their number. The rebels met with so warm a reception that after an obstinate fire of three hours they retreated, burnt Fort Anne and fled to Fort Edward.[99] The 9th. went into the field with 130 men.[100] Their loss amounted to 1 Lt.[101] 1 Serjt. & 11 R. & F. killed. 2 Lts. 1 Adjutant 2 Serjts. and 19 R. & F. Wounded. 1 Captn. wounded & Prisoner. 1 Surgeon Prisoner.

26th. Left Fort Anne and marched to Moore's Farm on the road to Fort Edward.

27th. Marched to Burnets farm. Genl. Burgoyne held a private Congress with the Indian Chiefs and reprimanded them in very severe terms for their late behaviour; one of the Ottawas having the Evening before scalped a Young Girl.[102]

28th. Proceeded on our march through Pitch Pine Plains and took post at Kingsborough,[103] a little in front of the place where the Fort George Road communicates with those to Fort Edward and Fort Anne. Hudsons river being our right flank. The river is not navigable at this place, but the falls are

[99] Originally erected in 1755 and then called Ft. Lyman; it was built of logs and earth. Benson J. Lessing, *Fieldbook of the Revolution.* (2 vol.; New York, 1860), I, 95-96. See *ibid.*, 95, for a plan of the fort.

[100] Ward (*War of the Revolution*, I, 415) says that the British had 190 men.

[101] Lieut. Richard Westrop; still unburied when Napier reached Ft. Anne. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 234.

[102] Jane McCrea. Whether she died from the blow of an Indian axe or from an accidental American bullet, is still undecided. See the following for various versions of her death: Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 175, 235-37; Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, 97-101; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, App. No. IV, 302-13.

[103] Kingsbury, four miles below Ft. Anne.

very beautiful. Sent out an Indian Scout who brought word that the Rebels had abandoned Fort Edward after having burnt the Barracks, but that the houses without the fort were untouched. Received accounts that the 62nd. Regiment had crossed Lake George.

29th. Remained at Kingsborough. The Right Wing came up and encamped upon Pitch Pine Plains.

30th. The whole moved. The Advanced Corps took post upon a rising ground to the left of the front of Fort Edward.[104] About 5 O'Clock P.M. a very smart firing was heard to the left which continued for a considerable time, a party of Indians[105] having attacked a body of 200 Rebels. The Indians drove them into Miller Island[106] where they have cannon (which they fired but without doing any execution), took three Prisoners (one an officer) and five Scalps.

August

1st. Still kept our camp. About 70 people from a place called the Scotch Patent joined us. Fort Edward is a square fort the Angles of which are terminated by three Bastions and one Demibastion. The entrance is defended by a Ravelin formed on the opposite side of a deep Ditch the bottom of which formerly had been palisaded. The outworks are in a ruinous condition as well as the body of the fort, but it is of little importance as it is commanded by the ground on three of it's faces. Reported that the Rebels had retreated to Stillwater[107] & Half Moon. A party of Indians were sent out to discover the truth of this report.

2nd. The Indians returned and partly confirmed the report of yesterday. They brought with them two prisoners who had belonged to a party of Five headed by Whitcomb[108] (the

[104] About a mile below Ft. Edward. Pell, "Diary," 108.

[105] The Indians were aided by Jessup's provincial troops. *Ibid.*

[106] Napier meant Ft. Miller (see Hadden's map), which stood on the west shore of the Hudson. Pell speaks of the same battle and says that the rebels were driven to the west side of the river. As the fort was a simple one of earth and logs, first built in 1709 by Col. Peter Philip Schuyler, it is doubtful if there were any cannon in it. Pell, "Diary," 108; Nathaniel Sylvester, *Historical Sketches of Northern New York* (Troy, N. Y., 1877), 292; Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, 93-94; William L. Stone, *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers during the American Revolution* (Albany, N. Y., 1891), 99.

[107] On the west side of the Hudson, about three miles below Bemis Heights (see Hadden's map); Grace G. Niles, *The Hoosac Valley* (New York, 1912), 354.

[108] Benjamin Whitcomb, an American scout, in July, 1776 shot and mortally wounded Brig. Gen. Patrick Gordon from an ambush. Gordon died on Aug. 1 and his death greatly embittered the British, especially as they felt that Whit-

rascal who murdered Brigr. Genl. Gordon last year.) Whitcomb & the other two made their escape.

3rd. A Scout returned with four scalps & seven prisoners, having attacked the Rebel Advanced Guard. The Enemy were at Saratoga [109] but preparing to retire to Stillwater. In the afternoon a Scout returned with eleven more scalps. An express arrived from General Howe to Genl. Burgoyne, it was inclosed in a small silver Egg and carried in the mans mouth. The General said everything had gone well to the Southward.[110]

4th. Genel. Burgoyne held two Congresses with the Indians. In the morning the Ottawaws desired leave to return home which was refused them. In the evening they agreed to remain.

8th. Three Rebel Officers brought in, one of them a Major and Committee man.

9th. The Advanced Corps left Fort Edward and encamped at Dewars [111] house opposite Fort Miller.

13th. Left Dewars house and encamped at Baton Kiln.[112]

14th. Crossed Hudsons River and took post at Saratoga.[113] The men lay in the barracks all Night. They are built of wood, in three rows with a street across the Center and consist of two story's. In the front is a Guard house Bake house &c in the rear a forge & other small Buildings.

16th. Left the Barracks & encamped on the ground in their front &c.

17th. About two O'Clock in the morning the Corps were ordered

comb could have made him a prisoner. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 102, 128, and fn. 103, 131-34.

[109] Now Schuylerville.

[110] Perhaps Howe's letter of July 17, announcing that he intended to sail for Philadelphia. This dismal lack of cooperation left Burgoyne in a critical situation, but he determined to push on to Albany and say nothing about Howe's ignoring the planned junction at that place. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 421; Van Tyne, *War of Independence*, II, 411-18.

Apropos of the silver ball, one used by Clinton to send a letter to Burgoyne, plus the letter, is in the Ticonderoga museum. John Bakeless, *Turncoats, Traitors and Heroes* (Philadelphia, 1959), 151.

[111] This was the house of William Duer, who had married Lord Stirling's youngest daughter, Catherine. The house stood in the present village of Ft. Miller (see Hadden's map). Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, fn. 1, 138; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 118 and fn. cw.

[112] Batten-Kill; a creek that emptied into the Hudson (see Hadden's map).

[113] The advanced guard crossed the river over a bridge of rafts, while the rest of the army lay at Duer's house. After the Battle of Bennington, Napier and his fellow soldiers re-crossed the Hudson and returned to the main army. Anburey, *Travels*, I, 348-50.

to accoutre & be in readiness to turn out at a moments warning. This was occasioned by news arriving that a large body of the Enemy had attacked and defeated a Detachment consisting of part of the Reidesel Dragoons, Indians, Canadians, Captn. Frasers Rangers & provincial Loyalists.[114] The intention of this detachment was to get possession of some magazines of provision &c which the Rebels were collecting at a place near Bennington. The reinforcement (consisting of the German Advanced Corps) sent to their assistance did not arrive 'till after the Engagement, which however they renewed & forced the Enemy to retreat for Three Miles. The Chasseurs pursued them when for want of ammunition they were obliged to retire. The Germans lost four pieces of Cannon, two of which they left in the woods where the Rebels found them *two days after* the action. The Germans &c. amounted to about 1200, the Rebels supposed to be about 5000. The loss is not yet known but must have been very considerable on both sides.[115] —A Mr. French with 70 Volunteers joined us. He came from Albany, had 120 with him when he set out but was prevented by the above mentioned accident from bringing the whole of them into Camp.[116] In the evening the Light Infantry & 24th. Regt. struck their Tents. The Light Infantry took post on a rising ground on the right of their late encampment and lay upon their arms all Night. The 24th. Regt. occupied the Barracks.

18th. Returned to our old Camp near the Baton Kiln.

20th. Moved our Camp 1/2 a mile nearer the Kiln.

22nd. A Company of Marksmen (under the command of Captn. Petrie 21st. B.L.I.[117] Lt. French 47th. B.L.I. & Lt. Coane

[114] The Battle of Bennington, Aug. 14. Burgoyne, after accepting the advice of Skene and rejecting that of some of his generals, sent 650 German troops under Lt. Col. Frederick Baum to seize supplies and horses rumored to be at Bennington. Instead of meeting hesitant opposition from the militia, Baum was attacked and killed by some 2,000 soldiers under Gen. John Stark and a relief under Lt. Col. Heinrich C. Breyman was also defeated and forced to retreat. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 30; Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 128; Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 330-31; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 422-31.

[115] The Germans lost 207 dead and some 730 as prisoners; the rebels had thirty killed and forty wounded. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 431. Bennington Battlefield is now a New York state park, about two miles from Wallomsac. *New York: A Guide*, 541.

[116] In a letter covering the period between Aug. 7-27, a Brunswicker also mentioned that many "Albanians" had joined the army. Stone, *Brunswick and Hessian Letters*, 104.

[117] British Light Infantry.

62nd.B.Gen.) was formed out of the Advanced Corps. N.B. They never were made use of upon any occasion.

23rd. Begun a bridge of batteaux over Hudsons River.

26th. The Bridge finished.

28th. Finished a Circular palisaded fort on the Saratoga side of the River to defend the Head of the Bridge. Two Indians arrived from Fort Stanwix late in Evening. The following order was given out to the Advanced Corps.

General Orders.[118] Dewars house 26th. Augst. 1777.

The Lieutenant General having received the report from Lt. Col. Breyman relative to the affair at St. Coicks Mills,[119] and also having obtained every collateral information possible, Thinks it justice to declare publickly that he has no reason to be dissatisfied with the Personal Spirit of the Officers and Troops in the action. On the contrary the Officers who commanded the different Corps behaved with Intrepidity. The failure of the enterprize seems to have been owing in the first instance, to the credulity of those, who managed the detachment of * Intelligence, who suffered great numbers of the Rebel Soldiers to pass and repass and perhaps count the numbers of the Detachment, and upon an ill founded confidence induced Lt. Col. Baume to advance too far to have a secure retreat. The next cause was, the slow movement of Lt. Col. Breymans Corps, which from bad weather, bad roads, tired horses and other impediments stated by Lt. Col. Breyman could not reach 24 miles from 8 in the morning of the 15th. 'till 4 in the afternoon of the 16th. The succour therefore arrived too late. The failure of Ammunition (in the management of which there seems to have been imprudence) was another misfortune; the rest seem common accidents of War. Upon the whole the Enemy have severely felt their little success and there is no circumstance to affect the Army with further regret or melancholy than that, which arises from the loss of some Gallant Men. But let the affair of the Mills of St. Coick remain hence forward as a lesson against the impositions of a

[118] Neither Hadden nor Digby include these orders, but O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 82-83, does. Aside from the usual differences in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization, the two versions agree in meaning.

[119] Referred to as "Saintwick Mills" in O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 82-83. Other early writers called the St. Croix or Van Schaick's Mills, Hoosac, New York, the St. Coych, Sancoix, or Saintcoix Mills. Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, fn. 1, 399.

* Governor Skene.

treacherous Enemy (many of whom in the very hour of swearing allegiance to the King, fought against his Troops) and likewise expending ammunition too fast, by which, conquering troops were obliged to retire with loss. The reflection on this affair will likewise excite Alertness and Exertion in every Corps's marching for the Support of another, by shewing in whatever degree these Qualities may be possessed by the Commanding Officers (and they are not to be doubted in the present instance) unless they are general, common Accidents may become fatal, and the loss of two Hours may decide the turn of an Enterprize, and it may often happen, the Fate of a Campaign.[120]

29th. The Indians who arrived last night brought intelligence that Lt. Col. St. Leger had been obliged, upon the approach of Arnold with 3000 men, to raise the Seige of Fort Stanwix [121] and to retreat leaving his Camp Standing.[122]

30th. A Rebel Scout of about 20 Men, carried off several Inhabitants from the Houses within three Miles of Saratoga.

31st. A party of Indians went off to assist in bringing down the Mohawks with their Wives and Children.

" General Orders.[123] Duarts House 31st. August 1777.

A General Court Martial to be held tomorrow morning at the Advanced Corps for the trial of Walter Harris, Soldier in the 53rd. Light Compy. for Advising Wm. Bell

[120] Although the drubbing at Bennington forced the British to rely again on salt meat and meal brought from England, cost the army almost a thousand casualties, dispirited the men, and bolstered the confidence of the Americans, Burgoyne wrote Germain on Aug. 20 that the defeat had " little effect upon the strength or spirits of the army . . ." Van Tyne, *War of Independence*, II, 419; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 461; Stone, *Brunswick and Hessian Letters*, 110; Lamb, *Journal of Occurences*, 154; Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution*, II, 43; Gordon, *Rise and Progress*, II, 542; Burgoyne to Germain, Aug. 20, 1777, Burgoyne, *State*, XXV.

[121] A small log fort built in 1758 that stood where the present city of Rome is located. In 1776 the Americans repaired it and renamed the fortification Ft. Schuyler, in honor of Gen. Philip Schuyler. Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, fn 1, 38.

[122] St. Leger's advance down the Mohawk was checked at the Battle of Oriskany and by his failure to take Ft. Stanwix. In particular, he had to lift his seige of the fort because of Benedict Arnold's ruse in sending a half-wit into St. Leger's camp to tell of the vast approaching rebel force. St. Leger's Indian allies took to their heels and he was forced to retreat. Whereas the idiot said Arnold had 3,000 men, he had only some 950. The great significance in this defeat lay in the fact that Burgoyne now was completely on his own; Howe was in the Chesapeake Bay and St. Leger was back in Oswego. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 486- 488-91; William M. Wallace, *Traitorous Hero: The Life and Fortunes of Benedict Arnold* (New York, 1954), 142-43.

[123] Neither in Hadden's nor Digby's *Journals*, but compare with O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 90.

Soldier in the 24th. Light Compy. and Joseph Brooks Soldier in the 53rd. Light Compy. to Desert [124] to the Rebels and for declaring an Intention to desert himself.

Signed

R. Kingston D.A.G."

Septemr. Morng. Brigade Orders [125] Batton Kiln 1st. Septr. 1777.

His Excellency the Lt. General having ordered a General Court Martial to be held at the Advanced Corps this day and to be composed of Officers belonging to that Corps. The Court is therefore ordered to sit at 10 O'Clock this forenoon at the Presidents Tent & the Members are as follows [126]

Major Earl of Balcarres 53 Regt. President

| | |
|---|---|
| Captains Ramsay 21 Gr. | Captains Cotton 31 L.I. |
| Pilmer 24 Gr. | Blake 24 Regt. |
| Wiseman 53 L.I. | Sheldon 9 L.I. |
| Winchester 20 L.I. | Fergusone 24 Regt. |
| Simpson 31 Gr. | Petrie 21 L.I. |
| Coote 24th. Regt. | Swettenham 9 Gr. |

All Evidences or Prosecutors are therefore ordered to attend at the aforesaid hour. The Adjutants to send the names & dates of the Members Commissions precisely at 9 O'Clock this morning to the Judge Advocate.

1st. A Rebel Scout consisting of about 30 Men came to a house within two miles of Camp (on the same side of the Hudson) [127] and carried off with them five Provincial Volunteers and two Canadians who were reaping. A Party of three Subalterns and 100 men from the Light Infantry under the command of Captain Frasers 34th. & Captn. Scott of the 24th.[128] were sent after them but did not overtake them. In the afternoon several Rebel Deserters came in. One of them

[124] Desertion became a real problem for Burgoyne and on Aug. 6 an order was issued that stated that Indians would be sent after those who fled from the army and they would "have orders to scalp all Deserters." Subsequently, the general orders record that Indians and Provincial troops had been sent after four German deserters and that the culprits would surely be brought in or scalped. O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 65, 66, 78.

[125] Not in Digby's or Hadden's *Journals*, or O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*.

[126] Hon. Malcolm Ramsay; Henry Pilmer; James Wiseman; Robert Wm. Winchester; James Sheldon; William Ferguson; George Petrie; and George Sweltenham. Ford, *British Officers*, 148, 144, 185, 161, 51, 29, 160, 69, 143, 170.

[127] The east side.

[128] Capt. Alexander Fraser and Capt. Thomas Scott. Ford, *British Officers*, 173, 158.

was a Stockbridge Indian. The General Court Martial met according to Orders.

3rd. A party from the Brigade under the Command of Captn. Scott 24th. Regt. went off to cover the arrival of the Mohawk Indians.

4th. Several Provincials from Albany gave themselves up to the Foraging Party.

Brige. Orders [129] Batton Kiln.

The General Court Martial whereof Major the Earl of Balcarres was President is dissolved by order of his Excellency the Lt. General.

5th. The Mohawks arrived. The Party sent out to cover them returned.

Eveg. Brigade Orders Batton Kiln

By order of His Excellency the Lt. General Walter Harris Private Soldier in the 53rd. Light Company (tried by a General Court Martial & Acquitted, the charge against him not having been sufficiently supported) and is to be immediately released.

6th. Five Deserters from the Rebels came into Camp.

7th. Several Provincials came in.[130]

8th. A Guard of 1 Captain, 2 Subalterns & 100 Men took post at the Barracks of Saratoga at 8 O'Clock P.M.

9th. Intelligence received that the Rebels were advancing towards Saratoga. In the Evening heard two Guns at no great distance. It was likewise reported that the Enemy had left Bennington. Where they went to, uncertain, but believed to be in our Rear.

10th. Expected to have been attacked. A Guard of 1 Captn. 2 Subs. & 100 men took post upon a hill above the Bridge at Fish Kiln.[131] Accounts of 4000 Rebels having taken post at Skenesborough made publick. Monr. La Motte went upon a Scout & found the Rebels encamped at Stillwater.[132] in two Lines.

[129] Neither this order nor the one of Sept. 5 is in Digby, Hadden, or O'Callaghan.

[130] See Hadden's *Journal*, 42-43, for orders between Sept. 7-10 that Napier does not include.

[131] The flooded Hudson carried away the first bridge the British had built and a second one of boats was put across the river at Fish Kiln, or Fish Creek, about five miles north of the American works. Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 336; Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, 50. See Hadden's map.

[132] About 9,000 Americans under Gates, who had supplanted Schuyler on Aug. 9, had developed a strongly fortified position at Bemis Heights, about four miles north of Stillwater. Charles W. Snell, *Saratoga* (Washington, D. C., 1959), 11-12. See Hadden's map, which mistakenly labels Bemis Heights, "Stillwater."

One upon the top of a Hill, the other below it extending about a mile & a half.

11th. A party of Indians sent out who brought in one Prisoner.

12th. The last Brigade of Germans came up to Duarts House. The rest of the Army were all encamped at Batton Kiln.

" General Orders [133] Batton Kiln

The * Officer who was so unmindful of his Duty some days ago, as to quit a Post of the utmost Importance to attend upon private Business, having expressed a thorough Sense of his Misconduct, and as far as in him lies attoned for the same by evident marks of Concern, is released from Arrest. But the Fact having become notorious to the whole Army, the Lt. General in vindication of his own Character, finds himself obliged to declare, That in suffering so uncommon a breach of Discpline to pass without the Judgement of a Court Martial, He can only justify himself by the Confidence He has, that the Officers of the Army in general do not want an example of Punishment to impress upon their Minds a Knowledge of the great Principles of their Profession, Consciousness of their respective Stations and Regard to personal Honour—He forgives & will forget the Fault in question, convinced that it cannot happen twice."

13th. The Advanced Corps left Batton Kiln and encamped upon the Heights above Fish Kiln (or Saratoga Creek). The Right Wing of the Army and Grand Park of Artillery likewise encamped between Saratoga Barracks and Fish Kiln.[134] Four Company's of Grenadiers with 2 Subrns. & 60 men of the Light Infantry went out after a party of the Enemy (who had carried off three men of the Provincial Loyalists) but did not overtake them.

14th. A Rebel Scout of 150 men having appeared this day, a party of 1 Subn. & 30 man (from the Light Infantry) was ordered to put themselves under the command of Captn. Fraser 34th. & go in pursuit of them. Captn. Fraser's party (consisting in

[133] Neither in Hadden nor Digby; but compare with O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 99, who has the complete order.

* Captn. Dunlap, 53rd Regt. at Fort George

[134] Plagued by the heat and dysentery, the British had camped at Batten Kiln for about a month as they accumulated supplies. When provisions for thirty days had been gathered, Burgoyne, now with an effective force of 5,346, crossed the Hudson and abandoned his line of communication with Canada. Although Burgoyne knew that Howe had sailed southward, he later declared that he had crossed the river still expecting cooperation from Howe. Stone, *Brunswick and Hessian Letters*, 96, 110; Burgoyne, *State*, 14, 45, 78.

all of 100 men) missed the Enemy. Genl. Burgoyne having Intelligence of this, ordered out Lord Balcarres with 5 Company's of Light Infantry and 4 Comps. of the 24th Regt. under the Command of Major Agnew. In the Evening all Party's returned to Camp without discovering the Rebels.[135]

15th. The whole Army marched and encamped at Davogot.[136] Several Deserters from the Rebels delivered themselves up.

16th. Party's sent out to repair some Bridges in our front.[137]

17th. The Army marched to Swords House and lay upon their Arms all Night.

18th. A party of the Enemy came within a few hundred yards of Camp and fired upon some men gathering potatoes. The killed, wounded & missing amounted to about Twenty.[139]

General Orders [140] Swords House

To the great Reproach of Discipline & of the Common Sense of the Soldiers who have been made Prisoners, the Service has sustained a loss within Ten Days that might have cost the Lives of some hundreds of the Enemy to have brought upon it an Action. The Lt. General will no longer bear to lose Men for the pitful consideration of Potatoes or Forage. The Life of the Soldier is the Property of the King, and since neither friendly Admonitions, repeated Injunctions nor corporal Punishments have effect, after what has happened the Army is now to be informed (& it is not doubted that the Comg. Officers will do it solemnly) That the first Soldier caught beyond the Advanced Centry of the Army will be instantly Hanged."

19th. The Army advanced towards Stillwater [141] where the Enemy

[135] Cavalry certainly would have benefited Burgoyne in this type of action, but by this date only twenty of the original 200 dragoons were left, poorly mounted and "in need of everything." Eelking, *German Allied Troops*, 133.

[136] Dovegat, now Coveville, two miles south of Schuyler's mills. Jacobus Swart had built Dovegat (from the Dutch, duivenkot, for dove cote) about 1765. Niles, *Hoosac Valley*, 353. See Hadden's map.

[137] The rebels had again destroyed the bridges and roads that lay in Burgoyne's path. See Riedesel's account for the labor it took to repair the bridges and roads (Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 141-44).

[138] The Sword House, about a mile below Dovegat. See Hadden's map.

[139] The potato pickers were about four or five hundred yards in front of the British camp and included some women. Digby says that thirteen of the pickers were killed or wounded and Hadden states that about twenty were captured. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 160; Baxter *Digby's Journal*, II, 269-70.

[140] Napier includes only part of the day's general orders; see Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 160-161, or O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 113, for the complete orders.

[141] Bemis Heights. This advance resulted in the Battle of Freeman's Farm, so-called as the heaviest fighting occurred in a clearing of that name. The farm

were encamped. The 47th & Hesse Hanau Regts. were left to guard the Provisions. The Picquets (consisting of 100 men) formed the Advanced Guard & were attacked by a large body of the Enemy before they had marched two Miles. They however repulsed them & drove them from two different Fences, but the Rebels being strongly reinforced, the Picquets were at length obliged to retire to the Line which was at a considerable distance in the Rear.[142] The whole moved in three Columns, the Advanced Corps on the Right, the German troops on the left and the British in the Center. Brigr. Frasers Corps coming up, stopped the Pursuit of the Rebels & repulsed them. As soon as the Center Column got on the Ground where the Picquets had been engaged, a hot fire began on both sides. The Rebels made the strongest efforts to turn their Flanks, but tho' superior in Numbers, in the proportion of Ten to One,[143] were repulsed in every attempt. From the situation of the Ground it was impossible to bring the Left Column into action, as that would leave a free passage for the Rebels to send strong Detachments to endeavour to destroy the Provisions.* Four British Regts. were therefore opposed to the whole fire of the Enemy, during the chief of the Action, but in the Evening x One Regt. of German & x two Comps, of another moved up and behaved with great gallantry and Intrepidity.[144] The Column on the Right could not be disposted for

lay in front of the American works on Bemis Heights. Snell, *Saratoga*, 13, 15. See Hadden's map. Saratoga National Historical Park, administered by the National Park Service, now preserves this battlefield.

[142] Napier, near the end of this account, says hostilities began at eleven a.m., but it was between twelve and one that the British advance units ran into Morgan's riflemen at Freeman's Farm. Every British officer received a mortal or lesser wound and the English had to retreat. By two-thirty or three the main armies had become engaged and the battle blazed until half-past six or seven. Pell, "Diary," 109; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 162 Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 272-73; Burgoyne, *State*, 30. See Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, 53, for a sketch of the battlefield in 1848.

[143] Although the British had as high as 2,500 men on the battlefield at the height of the struggle, some 800 soldiers of the 21st, 24th, and 62nd regiments bore the brunt of the fighting in the center. Around 4,000 Americans fought in the engagement. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 512.

* 9th. 20th. 21st. & 62nd Regts.—x Regt. of Riedesel. x of the Regt. of Rhitz

[144] The 20th, 21st, and 62nd regiments either broke or came near to breaking during the course of the afternoon. The Germans, plus the fact that Gates failed to push his attack with determination, certainly saved the day for Burgoyne. Riedesel felt afterwards that the British acknowledged his help with the greatest of reluctance. Pell, "Diary," 109; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 47; Burgoyne, *State*, 52; 122; Anburey, *Travels*, I, 368; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 511; Lamb, *Journal of Occurences*, 160; Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 150-151.

the same reasons as that on the Left. The Rebels did endeavour to turn their Right Flank, but were prevented and drove back.[145] The Engagement, including the attack of the Picquets lasted from 11 O'Clock A.M. 'till late in the Evening, when They retired to their works, leaving our Troops Masters of the Field. Their loss is computed at above 1000. Ours 560 killed, wounded and missing.[146] The place where the Battle was fought is called Freemans Farm. Lay upon our Arms all Night.[147]

20th. The position of the Army was changed. Lt. Col. Breymans Corps occupying the ground on the Right of Freemans House, Brigr. Frasers Corps and the Line moving to the Left of it. Lay up on our Arms all Night.[148]

21st. Encamped at Freemans House. Employed throwing up works and preparing to cut roads towards the Enemy.

"General Orders Freemans Farm

The Lt. General having an opportunity of observing

[145] Fraser drove off an attack by Gen. Ebenezer Larned. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 511.

[146] Except for a British officer who thought the American fought only because they were drunk, there is general agreement that the battle was extremely hard fought and that both sides exhibited amazing courage and stubbornness. The casualties support this view, for the British lost 600 in killed, wounded, and missing; the Americans had 319 killed, wounded, or missing. The 62nd regiment could only count sixty men and four or five officers in its ranks after the battle, all that were left of a total strength of 500 at the beginning of the campaign. Pell, "Diary," 109; Burgoyne, *State*, 16; 30, 121; Anburey, *Travels*, I, 370; Gordon, *Rise and Progress*, II, 551; Stedman, *History of the American Revolution*, I, 337; Scheer, *Rebels and Redcoats*, 315; Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution*, II, 45.

[147] The British retained the field of battle and Burgoyne held that he had won a victory, but there is common agreement that the bloody struggle produced no decisive benefits for the English. Burgoyne, *State*, 16; Anburey, *Travels*, I, 369; Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 337; Murray, *Impartial History*, II, 338.

[148] Burgoyne failed to attack the disorganized Americans on Sept. 20 because of his tired troops, heavy casualties from the day before, and the strength of the American camp. The British then began to fortify their position, especially after Burgoyne received an optimistic message from Clinton on Sept. 22 about a move against Forts Montgomery and Clinton that caused Burgoyne to decide to await the results of Clinton's plan. Hindsight shows the importance of the decision, as subsequent to it Burgoyne's forces constantly diminished as the Indians and provincials disappeared, and as casualties in his own ranks rose from sickness and skirmishing. On the other hand, American strength constantly increased. Wilkinson, *Memoir*, I, 252; Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 338-39; Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution*, II, 46; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, I, 32-35; II, 275, 278, 284; Burgoyne, *State*, 57; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 52-53; Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 157; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II,521-22.

[149] This is only part of these general orders, which appear in full in O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 115-16.

the conduct of the Troops in all parts of the Action of the 19th. thinks it incumbent upon him to give this publick Testimony to the exemplary Spirit of the Officers in general and in many instances of the Private Men. In both these distinctions, the Artillery are to be noticed, & the Brigade under Capt. Jones in particular deserves a conspicous Place.

His particular Thanks to Major General Phillips cannot be omitted upon on Occasion, where added to the Service of the Department under his special Inspection, He finds himself under great Obligations for the assistance of a most Able & Zealous Second in General Command.

The Zeal & Spirit of Major General Reidesel demands also the Lt. Generals particular Acknowledgement, & the regular Fire given by the Troops he brought up, and the good Countenance of the Germans in general were fully noticed.

Brigadier General Fraser took his position in the beginning of the Day with great Judgment and sustained the Action with his usual presence of Mind and Vigour.

Brigadier General Hamilton acquitted himself very honourably at the Head of his Brigade by his Activity & good Conduct during an Action of several Hours.

During these Subjects of Applause, the Impetuosity & uncertain Aim of the British Troops in giving their Fire and the Mistake they are still under in preferring it to the Bayonnet is much to be lamented. The Lt. General is persuaded this Error will be corrected in the next Engagement, upon the Conviction of their own Experience & Reason, as well as upon that general Principle of Discipline never to Fire but by Order of an Officer." [150]

22nd. Intelligence received of Sir Harry Clinton's being on his march towards Fort Montgomery.[151]

25th. Employed erecting Log Works &c. A Rebel Scout (about Reveillie beating) fired upon the German Picquet & wounded two of them.[152] A Spy taken by a covering Party of Gren-

[150] Hadden says that as the British advance troops retreated on Sept. 19, the main army "commenced a fire without orders (by which many of our own people were killed in retreating) . . . " Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 163.

[151] *Supra*, fn. 149.

[152] This outpost, near the Hudson on the Albany road, had been attacked the previous morning; the second attack came at 2 a.m. on the 25th. One German was made a prisoner. William L. Stone, *Journal of Capt. Pausch* (Albany, N. Y., 1886), 154-57.

adiers. Accounts received of Sr. Wm. Howe's having obtained a signal Victory over the Enemy.[153]

28th. News arrived of the Enemy's having made an attack upon Ticonderoga but without Success.[154] Part of the 53rd. Regt. were taken at the Portage.[155]

"General Orders[156] Freemans Farm

The Lt. General has received Intelligence of an Attempt being made by the Enemy on Ticonderoga, in which they miscarried and have retired, but made Prisoners some part of the 53rd. Regt. posted on the carrying place at Lake George. 'Till circumstances are more authentically known, it would be unjust to accuse any person of so great a Fault as suffering a Surprise, but the Occasion cannot be overlooked of repeating to Officers in general, the Necessity of Vigilance and unremitting Alertness upon their Posts & warning them that no distance of the Enemy or Situation of Ground is Security or Excuse if They are found off their Guard.

October

1st. A Scout went out under the Command of Captn. Fraser 34th. Regt.

2nd. Captn. Frasers Scout returned after having lost two of their Guides. They brought accounts of the Rebels having burnt Jones's house & that they had seen a large body of them dressed in Caps & Red Coats.

General Orders.[157] Freemans Farm.

In consequence of authentick Letters received by the Lt. General from Bridgr. Genel. Powell[158] at Ticonderoga & Captn. Aubrey 47th.[159] Regt. commanding at Diamond Island in Lake George, The Army is informed that the Enemy having found means to cross the Mountains between Skeneborough & Lake George and marched other Corps by

[153] Probably the Battle of Brandywine, Sept. 11, 1777.

[154] The Americans attacked the outposts of Ticonderoga on Sept. 18 and captured 300 prisoners, plus 200 bateaux. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 523.

[155] Lake George landing place, *Ibid.*, 523.

[156] These orders are in O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 122, and except for differences in spelling, etc., are the same as in Napier.

[157] O'Callaghan does not include these orders, which were issued on Oct. 1, but they are in Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 321.

[158] Brig. Gen. Henry Watson Powell ([?]—July 14, 1814), who remained at Ticonderoga after its capture by Burgoyne. After the surrender at Saratoga, he abandoned the fort and returned to Canada. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 147, 196-99.

[159] Capt. Thomas Aubrey. Ford, *British Officers*, 20.

the way of Hubertown. A sudden & general Attack was made (on the morning of the 18th. of Septemr.) upon the carrying Place of Lake George, Sugar Hill, Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. The Enemy so far succeeded as to surprise the Armed Boats stationed to defend the carrying Place as also the Post on Sugar Hill & the Portage where a considerable part of 4 Company's of the 53rd. Regt.* [160] were made Prisoners. A Blockhouse commanded by *Lieut. Lord* [161] was the only Post on *that* Side that had time to make use of their Arms and they made a *brave* defence 'till Cannon (supposed taken from the surprised Vessel) was brought against them.

After stating & lamenting so fatal a want of Vigilance, the Lt. General has to congratulate the Troops on the Events which followed. The Enemy having twice summoned Brigr. Genl. Powell & received such Answers as became a Gallant Officer, intrusted with an important Post, and having tried during the course of four Days several attacks being repulsed in all, retreated without having done any considerable Damage.

Brigr. Genl. Powell gives great Commendations to the Regiment of Prince * Frederic and the other Troops stationed at Mount Independence. The Brigadier also mentions with great Applause the Behaviour of Captn. Taylor [162] of the 21st. who commanded a hundred Men in the Fort of Ticonderoga and that he was well supported by Lt. Bearcroft [163] of the 24th. Regt. who with the Artificers in Arms, in the Half Moon Battery, prevented the Enemy from surrounding the Fort. On the 21st of September the Rebels with the Gun Boats and Batteaux's (which They had surprised at the carrying place of Lake George) attacked, in two Divisions, Diamond Island where Captn. Aubrey and a Detachment of the 47th. Regt. were posted with some Cannon and Gun Boats. The Rebels were repulsed with great loss and pursued by the Gun Boats to the East Shore where the principle Vessel and a Gun Boat were retaken together with all the Cannon except two Iron Guns which had burst. The

[160] Capt. John Baird, 53rd Regiment. *Ibid.*, 21.
* Under the command of Captain Baird.
[161] Lt. Simeon Lord, 52nd Regiment. *Ibid.*, 112.
* of Brunswick.
[162] Capt. William Thomas Taylor. *Ibid.*, 171.
[163] Lt. Richard Bearcroft. *Ibid.*, 25.

Enemy having had time to set fire to the other Batteaux retreated over the Mountains.

3rd. "General Orders [164] Freemans Farm

There is reason to be assured that other powerful Army's of the King are actually in Cooperation with these Troops; And altho' the present supply of Provisions is ample, It is highly desirable to be prepared for any continuance in the Field that the Kings Service may require, without the delay of bringing forward further Stores. For these purposes the Ration of Bread or flour is for the present fixed at One Pound.[165]

The Lt. General is confidant he shall meet with universal and cheerful Obedience to this Order, and as a Testimony of his Attention to the Spirit & good Will of the Troops on all Occasions and confident of His Majesty's Grace towards such Merits, the Lt. General will take upon himself to suspend the usual Stopages during the Diminution of the Ration or for one Month and the Soldiers will be accounted with for their whole Pay during that time. The Stopages are then to take place in the usual Course. With the same Confidence in the Kings Grace the Lt. General has ventured to Order the D. Paymaster General to issue 165 days Forage Money to the Officers of the Army."

7th. A Detachment [166] of about 1400 men, with two 12 prs. two 6 prs. & two 8 Inch Howitzers went out towards the Enemy's lines to draw off their attention from a Party of Observation who had gone into the Rear of their Camp.[167] They (suspecting an attack was intended up in their Lines) sent out a very considerable Force under the Command of Ar-

[164] These orders appear in Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 321, but O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 125, includes only the first paragraph.

[165] The reduction of the bread ration reflected the growing seriousness of Burgoyne's position. It is to be doubted that the army accepted the cut without "a complaint or murmur" as Lamb (*Journal of Occurences*, 163) said it did.

[166] This begins Napier's brief account of the Battle of Bemis Heights, or the Second Battle of Freeman's Farm. At a council of war on Oct. 5 Burgoyne rejected Riedesel's and Fraser's advice to retreat and determined to reconnoitre the American position in order to test the strength of the enemy. On Oct. 6 twelve barrels of rum were issued to the soldiers and on the seventh 1,500 regulars, with two 12-pounders, six 6-pounders, and two howitzers, plus four generals, moved out about one and the ensuing battle lasted until dark. Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 340; Peckham, *War for Independence*, 74; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 56; O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 128; Anburey, *Travels*, I, 385; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 287, 289.

[167] This party had reached a barn behind the extreme left of the American line before it was forced back. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 56.

nold.[168] After a very hot Engagement our Troops retreated to their Camp. The Rebels pursued but met with such a reception as made it prudent for them to retire to the Lines belonging to Breymans Corps, which They had stormed.[169] Our two 12 Prs. & two 6 Prs. were left behind us in the Wood. The Enemy likewise got possession of two 6 Prs. in Breymans Entrenchments.[170]

8th. The Army changed their position & occupied the Hills nearer the River.[171] Remained there all day preparing for a Retreat. The Rebels amused us with the appearance of an Attack.[172] About 11 O'Clock at Night began to move towards Canada.[173]

9th. Retreated to Fish Kiln and Saratoga. The Advanced Corps took up their former Ground. Found the Bridge across the Creek destroyed.[174]

10th. In the morning prepared to pursue our Route to Fort Edward but were prevented by the appearance of a large Body of the Enemy (supposed to be above 20,000 man) who were marching into our Rear with the greatest Expedition.[175]

[168] Arnold had been relieved of any command by Gates before the battle, but the future traitor ignored that and at the height of the conflict took charge of Learned's brigade and led those men against Burgoyne's center and finally forced the British to give ground. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 528-29.

[169] Seized by a daring attack hurled forward by Arnold; Breyman was shot by one of his own men. *Ibid.*, II, 530; Peckham, *War for Independence*, 74.

[170] The outstanding British casualty was Fraser: see *infra*, fn. 196.

[171] About one a.m., Oct. 8, the army moved to the hills bordering the Hudson. Pell, "Diary," 111; Burgoyne, *State*, 54.

[172] Throughout the day the Americans fired upon the British in general and upon the advanced corps in particular, which was posted on a hill near the lines of Gates. Burgoyne, *State*, 54.

[173] Leaving the sick and wounded behind, Burgoyne began his retreat about nine p.m. From now on until the end of the retreat, continued rain soaked the men and turned the roads into quagmires. The advanced corps now brought up the rear and that is probably why Napier says the flight from Gates began at eleven p.m. Pell, "Diary," 111; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 79; Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, 72-73.

[174] Due to a delay at Dovegate between sunrise and 4 p.m., the rebels managed to occupy the heights across from Fish Kill and block passage over the Hudson River. The fatigued and drenched soldiers forded the Fish Kill and camped at Saratoga about 8 p.m.

Burgoyne spent the night in Schuyler's house, just below the Fish Kill, with his mistress, according to M. Riedesel. Upon leaving the house the following morning, it and the other buildings were fired by Burgoyne. As soon as Schuyler heard of that, he sent his servants to the ruins to salvage the ironwork, so scarce was it. Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 169-170; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 80-82, 86, 123; Burgoyne, *State*, 31, 55, 59, 63; M. Riedesel, *Letters*, 176; Philip Schuyler to Col. Varick, Oct. 12, 1777, L. W. Smith Coll., Morristown National Historical Park.

[175] The incredible slowness of Burgoyne's retreat from Bemis Heights to Sara-

11th. At Day break a party of Rebels attacked the Light Infantry Quarter Guard and were beat back. Both Army's amused themselves canonading each other 'till Night. The Troops employed covering themselves.[176]

12th. The canonade still kept. up.[177]

13th. A Message sent from Genl. Burgoyne to Mr. Gates.[178]

14th. Held a Council of War. A Cessation of Arms agreed to 'till Night. Several Flags of Truce passed between the Camps.

15th. A Council of War held. A Cessation of Arms 'till further orders agreed to. Flags of Truce passed between the Camps[179]

16th. A Convention agreed to and signed by both Parties.[180]

. . . .

toga, about nine miles, is shown by the fact that Gates' army covered the same distance during the afternoon of Oct. 10. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 536.

[176] Now almost completely trapped, the British came under constant cannon and musket fire and discipline among the men, who had been under arms since Oct 7, began to fail. Burgoyne held a council of war in the evening and stated the desperate position of the army, but failed to follow Riedesel's advice to move up the west side of the Hudson, which route was still open. Burgoyne, *State*, 63; Stone, *Brunswick and Hessian Letters*, 125; Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 172-74.

[177] Another council of war was held about 3 p.m. on Oct. 12, and Burgoyne now accepted Riedesel's plan, only to cancel its execution just as Riedesel was about to set his troops in motion at 10 p.m. Later in the night the Americans established a battery on the west side of the river and sealed off Burgoyne's last escape path. Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 175-79; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 535.

[178] Surrounded, exhausted, and down to three days' rations, a council of war on the 13th agreed to the opening of negotiations for a surrender. Pell says that when officers were sent out to ascertain if the troops would continue to fight, the German soldiers answered: "nix the money, nix the rum, nix the fighten." Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 179; Murray, *Impartial History*, II, 350; Pell, "Diary," 111.

The negotiations for the British capitulation were carried on from Oct. 13 through Oct. 16, and as Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, I, 298-320 and O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 132-51, duplicate all the documents concerned with the Convention that appear in Napier's journal, they have not been included here. Other sources, such as DeFonblanque, *Life of Burgoyne*; Stedman, *History of the American War*, I; Murray, *Impartial History*, II; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, and Baxter's *Digby's Journal*, do not include all of the correspondence, etc., associated with the Convention.

[179] Gates sent his terms to Burgoyne, who rejected some of them and added some propositions of his own. This was done not only to bargain for better terms, but also to delay in hopes of receiving word of approaching help. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 309-10; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 101.

[180] Negotiations on the 15th had all but ended in a signed treaty, when during the night Burgoyne received word of possible help from Clinton. Burgoyne's suggestion to repudiate the convention was rejected by a council of war, but even on the morning of the 16th Burgoyne attempted to stall by complaining that Gates had sent some of his soldiers away, thus reducing the Americans'

17th. The Advanced Corps of the Army dissolved, the flank Company's of the Regiments on the spot joining their respective Battalions.[181] The Flank Company's of the Regiments in Canada were formed into a Corps under the direction of the Earl of Balcarres Major to the 53rd. Regt. The Army according to the Articles of Convention[182] marched out of their Trenches with all the Honors of War and piled their arms (by word of Command from their own Officers) * in Fort Hardy.[183] In the afternoon[184] the Troops (in a melancholy mood) marched to their late post at Freeman's farm, the Rebel Troops lining the Road and manning their Guns. They behaved with the greatest decency and propriety, not even a Smile appearing in any of their Countenances, which circumstance I really believe would not have happened had the case been reversed.[185]

Thus ended a Campaign, which at the beginning was attended with every Appearance of Success. The facility with which we obtained Ticonderoga contributed in a great measure to bring us into our disagreable Situation. From their quitting that Post before our attack begun, We had

superiority over the British. Gates rejected the complaint and formed his army; only then did Burgoyne accept the inevitable and sign the agreement. Gates did not trust the British general and he had his army slept on their arms that night. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 108-10; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 310-11; "Diary of Ephraim Squier," *The Magazine of American History*, II (Nov. 1878), 693.

[181] In an army, the light infantry companies of the different regiments were taken from their respective regiments and were organized into separate units. With the campaign at an end, Napier's light infantry company, for example, rejoined its regiment, the 31st. Edward E. Curtis, *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution* (New Haven, Conn., 1926), 4-5, 17.

[182] For a discussion of the Convention, see *supra*, pp. 2-3.

[183] Ft. Hardy stood at the junction of Fish Creek with the Hudson. Built by the French in 1755, the English later renamed it after Sir Charles Hardy, a newly appointed governor of New York. It was in ruins at the time of Burgoyne's surrender. Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, fn. 2, 79. See *ibid.*, 80, for a sketch of the surrender area in 1848.

* The Old French Fort near the River.

[184] Burgoyne met with his officers early in the morning, reminding them of his order to march to Albany and that the Convention had better terms for them than could normally have been expected. When the soldiers marched out to deposit their arms, the Americans had withdrawn so as not to be witnesses to the enemy's disgrace. Baxter. *Digby's Journal*, II, 317-19; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 114-15.

[185] There is general agreement that the Americans behaved with the greatest restraint. Not that they didn't enjoy the sight inwardly but even that feeling of triumph decreased as the British marched past for three hours under a hot sun. Stone, *Brunswick and Hessian Letters*, 128; Anburey, *Travels*, II, 3; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 319-20; "Diary of Ephraim Squier," 693-94.

conceived the Idea of our being irresistible. What afterwards followed plainly evinced We were not more than Mortals.

The affair of Hubbertown[186] greatly diminished the strength of the Advanced Corps, without doing any material damage to the Rebel Forces.

The Expedition towards Bennington was solely a plan of General Burgoyne's tho' contrary to the advice and opinion of every General Officer and Brigadier in the Army.[187]

The Retreat of Lieut. Colonel St. Leger left the Rebels in possession of all the Mohawk Country. Giving up the Communication with the Lakes before that with Albany was open appeared to most people a rash and to many a very absurd proceeding. The Action on the 19th. of September in which we were victorious was not productive of one single advantage, the Enemy not being dislodged but remaining in their Camp intrenching thenselves more securely than before, To add to the foregoing circumstances there was a scarcity of Provision without any hopes of a supply. In this situation either a sudden and unexpected Exertion or a Retreat was unavoidable. Both were attended with the Greatest difficulties. General Burgoyne (anxious to execute the Commission with which he was charged), thought proper upon the 7th. of October to take out a party of about 1500 men accompanied by two Twelve Pdrs., two 8 Inch Howitzers and two Six Ponders.[188] With these he marched a Mile and a half through the Woods towards the Enemy, who came out of their lines in prodigious numbers. This naturally brought on an action which proved fatal to our Army. The Kings Troops (unable to resist the impetousity of 15,000 men)[189] gave way, were drove from their Guns (all of which They lost except the Howitzers) and forced to Retreat to their Camp. The German Grenadiers, Chasseurs and Light Infantry (who were encamped upon the Right of Brigr. Frasers Corps) deserted their Lines upon the first intelligence of our Retreat.[190] Part of them were afterwards

[186] Hubbardton.

[187] Napier's copy of a letter from Burgoyne to Germain, Aug. 20, 1777, has been deleted as it appears in Burgoyne, *State*, XXI-XXIV.

[188] See *supra*, fn. 167.

[189] By Oct. 7 Gates had only 11,000 men in his army. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 524.

[190] Riedesel (Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 165) says that the greatly reduced number of men in the redoubt fought bravely, while Digby (Baxter,

rallied & brought back by Lt. Col. Breyman who was killed in the Works.[191] This attempt of his turned out ineffective, the Rebels overpowering them and getting possession of their works where they found two Six Pounders. While this was transacting upon the Right, the Advanced Corps had retreated to their works, to which place the Enemy pursued them, but met with so warm a reception that They thought it prudent to retire to the German Lines where they remained all Night.

Copy

of a Letter

from his Excelʸ. Lieut: General Burgoyne
to his Excelʸ. General Sir William Howe K.B.[192]

"Sir Albany, 20th. October 1777

"In conformity to my Orders, "to proceed by the most vigorous Exertions to Albany," I passed the Hudson's River at Saratoga on the 13th of September. No exertions have been left untried. The Army under my Command have fought twice against great superiority of numbers. The first Action was on the nineteenth of Septr when, after some hours sharp Conflict, We remained Masters of the field of Battle; the second action on the Seventh of October, was not so successful, and ended with a Storm upon two parts of our Intrenchments; the one defended by Lt. Col. Breyman, who was killed upon the Spot, and the Post was lost, the other defended by Lord Balcarres at the head of the British Light Infantry, who repulsed the enemy with great loss. The Army afterwards made good their Retreat to the Heights of Saratoga, unable to proceed farther, the Enemy having possession of all the Fords and Passes on the East side of the Hudsons River" [193]

The Army there awaited the chance of Events, and offered themselves to the attack of the Enemy 'till the

*Digby's Journal*, II, 288) and Anburey (*Travels*, I, 392) speak disparagingly of the actions of the German soldiers. Apparently, as those troops killed their own commander (Peckham, *War for Independence*, 74), they fled too quickly from their position.

[191] Col. Specht led the attempt to regain the redoubt. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 530.

[192] This letter suddenly interrupts Napier's summary of the campaign and as it does not appear in print elsewhere it is included here.

[193] Burgoyne is noticeably reticent about the slowness of his retreat. See *supra*, fn. 175.

13th instant, when only three days provisions at short allowance remained. At that time the last Hope of timely assistance being exhausted, my numbers reduced by past actions to three thousand five hundred fighting Men, of which about nineteen hundred alone were British; invested by the Enemys troops to the amount of sixteen thousand men; [194] I was induced by the general concurrence and advice of the Generals, Field Officers, and Captains commanding Corps, to open a Treaty with Major General Gates. Your Excellency will observe by the papers transmitted herewith, the disagreeable prospect that attended the first overtures. The Army determined to die to a man rather than submit to terms repugnant to national and personal honour.[195] I trust you will think the Treaty enclosed consistent with both. I am with the greatest respect & attachment, Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servant.

J. Burgoyne"

(here I cannot help lamenting the loss of Brigr. General Fraser, who died next day of the Wounds he received in the action.* His Zeal and Activity joined to his natural Courage and good Conduct made him (as an officer) universally esteemed and respected. In his last moments he declared his disapprobation of most of the measures which had been adopted during the campaign and said, He hoped Genl. Burgoyne would do his Memory the Justice to acknowledge it) [196]

Our loss in this unfortunate affair amounted to —— Men. That of the Enemy was very considerable. Their Genl. Arnold was wounded and Six Colonels with above 1,000 men killed and wounded.[197] Another of their Generals (one Lincoln [198]) was wounded the next day. On the Night of the 7th,

[194] By Oct. 17, Gates' army numbered about 20,000 men. Snell, *Saratoga*, 24.

[195] See *infra*., fn. 199.

* 7th. October 1777.

[196] This is an interesting eulogy by a junior officer on one of the best of Burgoyne's generals. It is difficult to determine how strong Fraser's opposition to Burogyne's plans was, however, as on the matter of crossing the Hudson, Burgoyne, the Earl of Balcarres, and the Earl of Harrington subsequently swore they had never heard Fraser oppose that movement. Burgoyne at least paid poetic tribute to the memory of Fraser, as he later wrote an ode entitled, "To the Spirit of Fraser." Burgoyne, *State*, 15, 29, 35, 51; *D.N.B.*

[197] Total American losses amounted to 150 men, while the British lost some 600 soldiers in killed and wounded. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 530.

the Army changed their position and on the morning of the 9th. retreated to Saratoga, leaving the hospital upon the ground at Freemans Farm. On the morning of the 10th. the Army prepared to move towards Canada, but the sudden appearance of the Rebels prevented them. Mr. Gates having the Advantage of Numbers, easily surrounded us. In this dilemma, Councils of War were called. At these it appeared that the Post occupied by the German Troops was not tenable, and there was great reason to suspect they would be forced to lay down their Arms, if an attack was made upon them. The above mentioned reasons and the impossibility of effecting a retreat or cutting a way through such numbers of the Enemy made it necessary to think of treating with the Rebels. The proposals they made were to lay down our Arms in the Trenches and surrender ourselves Prisoners of War. These terms were unanimously rejected by the Council, who together with the Army were of opinion that it would be better to rush upon the Enemy, determined to take no Quarter, than to submit to Conditions derogatory to the Honour of British Troops and of the British Nation.[199] Proposals were then made on our side and at length A Convention agreed to, as before related.

Thus did 1900 British Troops (besides Germans)[200] fall a Sacrifice to the Ignorance and vain Conceit of a Minister. General Burgoyne declared in a publick Speech to the Officers of the Army that his Orders were to push to Albany *at all Events,* and that his Obedience to those Orders was the cause of his present Situation. The Eyes of the British Nation in all probability will now be opened and a Parliamentary Enquiry made into the conduct of the Minister by whose directions so fatal and ridiculous a plan was devised and executed. The dictates of Reason and of Common Sense will at once suggest to every honest breast how impossible it is for a Minister to direct the Operations of a Campaign carried on in a Country several Thousand Miles

[198] Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln (Jan. 24, 1733-May 9, 1810). *D.A.B.*

[199] This refers to Articles I and II of Gates' original proposals. The two articles said in effect that Burgoyne's army was a beaten one and that it had to surrender in its own camp. Burgoyne protested about both of those articles and in the final agreement no reference to the fact that Burgoyne's army was a defeated one appeared and the British were permitted to lay down their arms outside of their own camp. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign,* 102-03; Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 537.

[200] British troops on the day of the surrender show 1,905 British and 1,594 German troops left in the army. Burgoyne, *State,* 85.

distant from the one in which he resides.[201] But let my Reflections rest here, and let the Fate of this Brave tho' unfortunate little Army remain as a Caution to Officers of Rank upon what Terms they accept of a Command of the most important Nature to the Interest of their Country.

October

18th. Crossed Hudsons River at Stillwater.[202]
19th. Marched to [blank] Mills.
20th. Marched to a place near St. Coicks Mills.
21st. Williamtown. 20 Miles.
22nd. Halt.
23rd. Lanesborough 15 M.[203]
24th. Pittsfield —— 6 M.
25th. Worthington —— 18 M.
26th. Chesterfield —— 6 M.
27th. Northampton —— 12 M.
28th. Halt.
29th. Crossed the Connecticut to Hadley 3 M.
30th. Wier —— 17 M.[204]
31st. Brookfield —— 12 M.
1st. November. Halt
2nd. Worcester —— 18 M.
3rd. Shrewsberry. 7 M.
4th. Marlborough 12 M.
5th. Waltham 15 M.

[201] Burgoyne, through claiming the ministry had deprived him of any "latitude" in his orders, agrees with contemporary and later writers who also hold Germain primarily to blame for the disaster at Saratoga (Burgoyne, *State*, 3-5, 6-8; Anburey, *Travels*, II, 5-7; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 321-23; DeFonblanque, *Life of Burgoyne*, 337; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 127; Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny*, 236). But there is much to be said for the idea that "the grand cause of the defeat was the appointment of General Burgoyne (Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 352-53)"; and the most recent detailed treatment of the campaign states that the leading cause of its failure was Burgoyne's inability to make the most of his early successes (Nickerson, *Turning Point*, 398).

[202] The Convention stipulated that the British army would be marched to Boston to await transports to carry it to England. In marching east, one group of English soldiers followed a route through northern Massachusetts; the other portion of British soldiers, including Napier, marched through the central part of the state; and the Germans followed roads in the southern part of Massachusetts. Just west of Worcester all the groups rejoined and the British marched a day ahead of the Germans until they reached Cambridge. Dabney, *Convention Army*, fn. 14, 29.

[203] Lanesboro.

[204] Ware.

6th. Barracks on Prospect Hill. 7 M. 148 miles from St. Coick.[205]

1778

Cambridge, Massachusetts Bay, New England,

April

5th. The Congress by a resolve the of 1778 having declared that the Troops of the Convention should be detained 'till the Treaty was ratified and properly notified to them by the Court of Great Britain[206] and Genl. Burgoyne having made repeated applications to them for leave to go Home upon his Parole and obtaining it, He with his family left Cambridge on their way to Rhode Island.[207]

15th. The Royal Artillery under (the command of Major Carter) & the eight flank Comps. of the Regiments in Canada (under Captain Cotton[208] 31st. L.I.) with Lt. Nutts detachment of the 33rd. marched from Prospect Hill on their road to Rutland, pursuant to a Resolve of Congress that the Troops of the Convention should be moved into the interior parts of the Country.[209]

May

13th. Obtained leave (by a handsome Bribe to the Rebel D. Commy. Genl. of Prisoners) to go to Europe upon my Parole, no time being mentioned for my Return. This was obtained in direct opposition to a positive Resolve of Congress to the Contrary.[210]

15th. Arrived at the Orpheus Frigate (of 36 Guns) being one of the advanced Guard Ships from Rhode Island.

16th. Arrived at Newport in Rhode Island.

17th. Signed a Parole for myself and Servant our not serving in North America until Exchanged.

[205] Wet and weary, the British found miserable quarters in barracks on Prospect Hill, in what is now Somerville, that had been erected during Washington's siege of Boston. In spite of Heath's efforts concerning housing for both men and officers, neither British nor Germans were pleased with their quarters. Elizabeth F. Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution* (2 vol.; New York, 1848), I, 97; Samuel F. Batchelder, *Bits of Cambridge History* (Cambridge, 1930), 5; William Heath, *Memoirs of Major General Heath* (Boston, 1798), 134; Anburey, *Travels*, II, 57.

[206] See *supra*, introduction.

[207] Burgoyne sailed for England on April 4 and never returned to America. Maj. Gen. Phillips assumed command of the Convention troops. Dabney, *Convention Army*, 22-23.

[208] Capt. William Cotton. Ford, *British Officers*, 52.

[209] The ostensible reason for this move was that the troops could be better cared for in Rutland, but the real reason probably lay in the idea that they could be better controlled there. In early fall the rest of the British moved to Rutland. Dabney, *Convention Army*, 45-46.

[210] See *supra*, introduction.

24th. In the Evening, a Detachment of about 500 men, composed of the two Flank Company's of the 54th Regt. one company of Hessian Chasseurs and the Eight Battalion Company's of the 22nd. Regt., under the command of Lieut. Colonel Campbell of that Regt., marched from Newport, and at One O'Clock next morning embarked on board the Flatbottomed Boats,[211] under the direction of Captain Clayton of the Navy, and proceeded up the Harbour to Warren River. His Majesty's Ship Flora then moving up above Pappasquash Point, to cover the operation of the Troops, and the other Ships of War changing their Stations, so as to assist should occasion require.

About half after Three the Lieut. Colonel landed his Party undiscovered, a mile from Bristol & three from Warren, and then detached a Captain with Thirty Men back to Pappasquash Point, to take and destroy the Rebel Battery of one 18 pounder there, which was completely effected, whilst the main body moved towards the Town of Warren, which it reached before Six and after establishing proper Posts to secure the Passes there, proceeded to Kickamust River,[212] where intelligence had been received, that the Enemy were collecting a number of Boats, and some armed vessels, which the Troops found, amounting to 125 Batteaux (some 50 feet in length) One Galley carrying two 18 Prs. two 12 Prs., and four 6 Prs., and one Schooner[213] loaded with Stores, besides materials for repairing others; all of which was entirely destroyed, as was the Mill and Bridge across the River, three more 18 Prs. upon travelling Carriages were spiked and the Carriages burnt.

This service being effected the Troops returned by their former Rout, to Warren, where they found two 18 Prs. two 12 Prs., and one 9 Pr. all in readiness for Service, had been spiked by the Detachment left behind and their carriages destroyed. At this place a House was discovered filled with

[211] The British used thirteen flat-bottom boats and four or five barges and whaleboats. Mackenzie, *Diary*, I, 284.

[212] Kickamuet.

[213] This galley, the *Washington*, Mackenzie says (*Diary*, I, 285) had four 12-pounders and six 4-pounders in addition to the two 18-pounders; also, a sloop, rather than a schooner, was found loaded with stores.

An American account states that only seven boats were seized by the British and that twelve were left unburned. The enemy set fire to the galley, but the blaze was extinguished before it had done too much damage. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 13, 1778.

Ammunition, Combustibles and other warlike Stores, which was therefore set on Fire and the Magazine blown up;[214] The Townhouse & Church were likewise burnt, as also a Privateer Sloop of 16 Guns.[215]

The object of this Enterprise being thus far effected, the Troops returned by the way of Bristol, on a Hill near which two Prs. were spiked, and one 3 Pr. on the Road, the Carriage of which was destroyed. The Church and some part of the Town, was burnt in the march through it, and a Military Store there blown up.[216] After which the Troops proceeded to gain the Heights above Bristol Ferry, during which the Rebels kept up a constant Fire upon their Rear, without doing them much Injury; When this was accomplished and the two 18 Prs. in the Battery spiked, the Detachment was reimbarked with the greatest regularity, under the cover of the Flora Man of War, two Gallies and the Battery on the Newport side of the Ferry.

This essential piece of Service was performed with the loss only of one officer (Lt. Hamilton of the 22nd. Regt.) as also twelve privates wounded & two Drummers missing.[217]

The loss on the part of the Rebels on this occasion was one Colonel, three Field Officers, two Captains, two Lieuts., and 58 persons (many of them Soldiers) taken Prisoners. The number of their killed and wounded cannot exactly be ascertained, but it is believed to be inconsiderable, as tho' a heavy fire was kept up by them, at Times, on the Troops, it was always distant, and under cover of their Walls and two Field pieces.

About two OClock the same Morning the Pigot Gallery, commanded by Captn. Reeves of the Navy, passed the Battery at Bristol-point & tho' hailed by the Enemy were mistaken for one of their own Vessels; when she came to an Anchor in Mount Hope Bay, Lieut. [blank] of the Nonsuch, with Six armed Barges rowed to the Entrance of Taunton River to destroy the Enemy's other Galley,[218] which also carried two 18 Prs., two 12 Prs., and six 6 Prs., where she

[214] Six other houses were also burned in Warren. *Ibid.*

[215] This was a new vessel and it carried sixteen 4-pounders. Mackenzie, *Diary*, I, 285.

[216] Twenty-two buildings were burned in Bristol, including the church and the home of Rhode Island's governor. *Pa. Gazette*, June 13, 1778.

[217] The Americans had captured the two drummers. Mackenzie, *Diary*, I, 286.

[218] The *Spitfire*, *Ibid.*, I, 287.

was found with all her Crew 15 in number, asleep, & taken without any loss. In returning with this Prize through the straight of Bristol Ferry, they had to repass the Enemy' Battery, by the fire from which a man was wounded in one of the Boats. To cover these more essential operations, it was judged necessary to make a small diversion on the Rivertown side, & the Boats of the Alarm Galley were therefore dispatched early in the morning to burn the Enemy's Guard-House on the Point of Fogland Ferry, which was executed without the least loss.

June

3rd. Sailed from Newport, Rhode Island (for New York) on board the Brig Peter, Carg[o] Master.[219]

5th. Arrived at New York.

21st. Embarked on board his Majesty's Ship Zebra (Captn. H. Collins Commander) for Philadelphia.

22nd. Sailed from New York.

29th. Met his Majesty's Ship the Phoenix with the last division of the Fleet from Philadelphia.[220]

30th. Returned to Sandy Hook.

31st. Returned to New York.

[219] Napier, along with several other British and German officers of the Convention Army, set sail in a heavy rain. *Ibid.*, I, 291.

[220] Between June 16-18, the British evacuated Philadelphia. While the troops retreated to New York, the fleet carried all the Loyalists and army baggage that it could. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 571.

# THE ORIGINS OF MARYLAND'S MIDDLE CLASS IN THE COLONIAL ARISTOCRATIC PATTERN

By James High

THE Greek derivation of aristocracy implies the refined result of natural selection, hence one of its meanings is "rule of the best." A more common interpretation is "an exclusive group" with "prescriptive rights." The definition to be used here is "an exclusive group by right of birth," which was the commonly accepted meaning in the eighteenth century. As for "middle class,"—it is less amenable to precise definition; in the eighteenth century it meant the commercial and business people whose principal concern was not supposed to be with government. It had then, and still has the characteristic of economic success and great wealth. Middle class will be used here to mean a "non-exclusive group" open to anyone with sufficient wealth, and concerned with the dual problem of economics and politics.

The point to be made is that the idea of English aristocracy was not grafted on to the new American empire, but that instead, the aristocratic function was modified and taken over by a new middle class. This class, as has been said, was not exclusive. It accepted members both from above and below.

Professor Carl Bridenbaugh effectively gave the case for Virginia aristocrats, in *Seat of Empire,* treating them as an "exclusive group," and also as furnishing the "rule of the best." [1] Any particular area, however, has a "personality," as Professor Dixon Ryan Fox has so charmingly stated in *Yankees and Yorkers.* By his comparison, New England was the center of middle class virtue, and New York was aristocratic.[2]

[1] Carl Bridenbaugh, *Seat of Empire* (Williamsburg, 1950), pp. 2 ff.
[2] Dixon Ryan Fox, *Yankees and Yorkers* (New York, 1940), pp 1 ff.

In many ways the most effective aristocracy—at least the most prolific—grew up in New England, an area dubbed "democraticall" in the conservative eighteenth century. Here, at least, the oligarchic rule was less shaken by the Revolution than in the rest of America. Francis Parkman felt that a Massachusetts man liked nothing better than the opportunity to show his fellow the way of his duty; leadership is the natural growth of such an attitude.

In the English meaning of the eighteenth century an aristocracy did not exist in the New World (with the possible exception of Virginia). Titles, old families, ancient seats—all this was absent from the American colonies. There were groups that became exclusive, as the Tidewater planters in Virginia, but in a sparsely populated country like North America, near to a vast, wild frontier, there were too many chances for independence. Even now no real aristocracy can exist here. We have an "exclusive group," but if the "rule of the best" were expected from such persons as Tommy Manville and Doris Duke, then we should be grateful for the middle class ideals that have intrenched popular control which now produces either a Republican or a Democratic administration to exercise the "prescriptive right" of imposing high taxes.

During the colonial period the twofold office of aristocracy, that of government and that of guarding tradition, including such items as charity and regulation of business, was theoretically the responsibility of the Colonial Office and the overseas Church establishment. Instrumentation was through the Board of Trade, the Bishop of London, and the colonial governors. Colonial history is in large part the story of the failure of that administration. Actual government in America was carried on by local legislatures representing non-aristocratic constituencies. The Anglican Church, although established, was smaller numerically than most of the non-conforming faiths. In Carolina where a readymade hierarchy of titled proprietors was designed, a spectacular failure took place. The Tandgraves, barons, caciques, and knights were willing to come and assume control of thousands of acres, but their settlers were less than willing to trade semi-serfdom in Europe for complete subjection in America.[3]

[3] Henry McCulloh, General Thoughts . . . , 1765, Townshend Collection,

For the most part colonial American leaders in the eighteenth century were dominated by the ideals of the new "middle class," not long emerged from centuries of submission to the English landed gentry. Out of Stuart ideology and imperial laxity grew the forceful, individualistic men who led public life and who also became the founders of American democratic capitalism.

In the seventeenth century, the great period of English overseas expansion, every American colony had had aristocratic leadership or sponsorship, but the bulk of the settlers were of less distinguished stock. Their common denominator was dissent against something. After the first settlement it was generally the case, as in Maryland, that local leaders had emerged from the masses, and that the aristocratic founders had sought more interesting occupations at home.

By the time of the Puritan Revolution the proprietary name of Calvert was of lessening importance in Maryland while those of Fendall and Coode were on the rise. Josias Fendall and John Coode were two unsavory adventurers who were contending with each other to engross the trade of Chesapeake Bay, and at the same time to take advantage of the constitutional upheaval to seize colonial sovereignty in the name of popular right. These men were typical of the traders who arose from obscurity out of the body of Dissenters that appeared in the empire simultaneously with the English Oliverians. They remained to gain respectability and substance as the core of the middle class in Maryland. Eighty years later another generation of Fendalls was still active in the colony, but this time in league with a Calvert who had been reduced to the middle class, and with a Dulany and a Tasker who had been elevated to that class. They were all equally interested in trade and sovereignty.[4] These names all appear as Commissioners of the General Court, and as trustees to see that the new Tobacco Inspection Law was properly administered.[5]

Middle class ethics gradually shaped the structure of the group that dominated Maryland life during the eighteenth cen-

Huntington Manuscripts, HM 1480 (Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California).

[4] *Maryland Gazette*, October 28, 1729.

[5] *Maryland Gazette*, June 3, 1729; *ibid.*, October 28, 1729.

tury, and finally found definitive expression in the terms of the Constitution. New wealth and vigorous exposition of colonial rights were the outstanding characteristics of this western bourgeoisie; lineage was only incidental, sons of knights and barons levelling off socially with ex-artisans and the offspring of farmers. The attitudes of non-conformity had made the " rights of man " the touchstone of Maryland solidarity against the Baltimore family and their " rights by Charter grant'd." These in turn were identified with the idea of aristocracy.

On the surface it appeared that Maryland was tightly bound by the provisions of its royal charter artistocratically administered. According to its verbiage the Calvert family were " the true and absolute Lords and Proprietaries of the Region . . . ," and so they remained, but in name only, until 1776.[6] At the time of the Revolution the transparency of the tissue became apparent.

This long proprietary tenure was at the expense of ever decreasing power, and its corollary, increasing colonial sovereignty in middle class hands. The grip of the proprietor had been loosened during the English Civil Wars, when Parliamentary power in England supplanted that of the crown. Baltimore's interest was then identified with that of the crown in Maryland, and the charter was suspended largely through the activities of such men as Josias Fendall. The Restoration again placed the name of power in titled hands, but the popular Assembly that had grown up in Maryland in the meanwhile was never again to be displaced. The charter was again suspended after the Glorious Revolution, when the Orange king represented English constitutionality. This time Marylanders identified their ills with harsh imperial control. Royal Governors Hart, Copley, and Nicholson could do nothing to check the growth of the " country party," as they called the middle class. Their correspondence with the Secretary of the Council at St. James was nearly one-sided, and consisted of their complaints that they were helpless. Nicholson ended his administration joyfully when the fourth Baron of Baltimore turned Pro-

[6] *Laws of Maryland at Large*, compiled by Thomas Bacon (Annapolis, 1765), d (preface). The Charter of the Province of Maryland appears here in polyglot English and Latin. This work is hereafter cited as Bacon's *Laws*.

testant and thus regained his colony.[7] Each time that the descendants of Sir George Calvert regained their colony some of the "absolutism" had been shorn away, until finally only the name of "absolute Lord" remained along with one important element—a princely income.

The power thus shed, fell, not as it would have in medieval times to the knights and barons, but to the liberty conscious middle class. Such men as Daniel Dulany, Irish indentured servant, Thomas Cresap, English frontiersmen, Benjamin Tasker, Tidewater planter, and Stephen Bordley, Anglican vestryman, were ready to speak and act on behalf of American freedom of enterprise and political sovereignty.

The clerical arm of English colonial administration, the Bishop of London, ran, bolt upright, into iron-willed opposition in Maryland, based on local notions of sovereignty. When Commissary Thomas Bray came to Maryland in 1701 to "regulate the clergy," and to look into the possibility of setting up a bishopric there, his efforts were countered by the parish vestries. Stephen Bordley, not long emerged from the status of common settler, stoutly put forward the argument that the right of choice of ministers lay, not with the governor or the Bishop of London, but with the vestrymen on the spot.[8] This was the same argument elaborated in the *Maryland Gazette* a quarter century later by Daniel Dulany under the title, "Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland to Benefits of the Church of England."[9] The vestry was merely another instrument of the "country party" to further its needs. It was one more facet of the many-sided accretion of power and importance that was gathering around the middle class in Maryland. The same line of resistance was followed after the French and Indian War, when the last Lord Baltimore attempted, too late, to strengthen the aristocratic idea in his colony. When he tried to appoint a minister to Coventry Parish, Reverend Thomas Bacon, the legal-minded clergyman who compiled the *Laws of Maryland*, headed a petition of two thousand signers protesting the proprietary appointment, and they made it stick.[10]

[7] Maryland Governors to the Court, 1689-1714, Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5: 713-717; 1719-1720 (Library of Congress Transcripts).

[8] Examination of the Clergy in Maryland by Thomas Bray, 1701, Fulham Palace Manuscripts, Maryland, 1 (Library of Congress Transcripts).

[9] *Maryland Gazette*, December 17, 1728.

[10] Petition from Coventry Parish to Governor Horatio Sharpe concerning

The development of this bourgeois theme may be illustrated by three biographical vignettes drawn from three widely divergent segments of society. The men are Daniel Dulany, indentured servant, Thomas Cresap, back country pioneer, and Samuel Ogle, proprietary governor.

Daniel Dulany (1685-1753) arrived from Ireland in 1704 at the age of eighteen. The magnetism of the New World moved this educated, impoverished youth of the gentry to come to America as an indentured servant. His career anticipated the success stories of Benjamin Franklin and Andrew Carnegie. His life might have inspired the pen of Horatio Alger. Tradition has it that George Plater, wealthy lawyer and planter, bought the young man's services, and made him an apprentice at law. However he received his training, Dulany was licensed to enter the bar at the age of twenty-four. From this start he became the most successful attorney in Maryland, and one of the wealthiest land owners.[11] By 1728 he was on a basis of full equality with Benjamin Tasker, George Plater, Charles Carroll, and the other leaders of Maryland life. He was making money in trade, planting, real estate speculation, and law, and more important—he was upholding the right of Americans to do those things as well as to guide themselves constitutionally.[12]

He is known to have held warrants for over 55,000 acres of land. Throughout his life he lived in Annapolis or near Baltimore, which he helped to develop. At the time of his death he was a large owner in one of the two iron works that had been

replacement of Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker, May 16, 1767, *Proceedings of Assembly, 1766-1768*, edited by J. Hall Pleasants, *Arch. Md.*, LXI, 513.

[11] Aubrey C. Land, "Genesis of a Colonial Fortune: Daniel Dulany of Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, VII (April, 1950), 255-269. Professor Land has also written a book about *The Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany the Elder (1685-1763) and Daniel Dulany the Younger (1722-1797)*, (Baltimore, 1956), reviewed by Louis B. Wright in *Md. Hist. Mag.* (March, 1956). Professor Wright says of the elder Dulany that if "anybody looked down on him because he had come over as an identured servant, the fact was no hindrance to the growth of his reputation and the esteem in which he was held. The origins of colonial immigrants mattered very little provided they had the means of acquiring land and the intelligence to make use of their new opportunities as landed proprietors (p. 63)."

[12] *Maryland Gazette*, December 17, 1728; *ibid.*, May 19, 1729; *ibid.*, June 3, 1729; *ibid.*, October 20, 1730. See W. Stull Holt, "Charles Carroll, Barrister: The Man," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXI (June, 1936), 112-126, for an evaluation of one of the members of the group in question during the American Revolutionary period. Professor Holt described Carroll's activities in terms of the aristocratic tradition, but with the same sort of evidence that presents itself for my thesis.

established in the 1730's, the Baltimore Company.[13] His last and greatest purchase of land was made in 1745—about 7,000 acres in Frederick County, on the route of the German immigrants pouring into the Virginia piedmont southward from Pennsylvania. Dulany laid out the townsite of Frederick—disregarding the charter provision that only the proprietor could do such a thing—and reserved 2,000 acres of the tract for himself. He and his sons obtained five pounds each for the half acre lots in the new town, which soon became the commercial center for expanding Frederick County. They also retained the right to a perpetual ground rent on all property sold, thus at one stroke undermining the vested proprietary right to quit-rent and at the same time creating a self-replenishing fortune.[14]

Besides making money Dulany held many political and administrative offices in the colony of his adoption. Chief among these was that of Attorney General. In this capacity he was in a position to assist both in the settlement of the west and in the advancement of the middle class. While he symbolized the influence, position, and capital of the East, he gave legal sanction and substance to the pioneers' efforts at expansion and democratization. He was instrumental in supporting the push of settlement into the western point of Maryland that extends along the north bank of the Potomac between Virginia and Pennsylvania, and points over the mountains toward the heart of the Ohio Valley. This was an essential element in the spread of middle class ideas, the ideal that any man could succeed if he were given the chance and would work hard enough. This ideal was the core of action and thought of those God-fearing, non-conforming Protestants who settled the cis-Appalachian west, taking the land, as was said of them, and " everything else they could lay their hands on." [15] Dulany the Elder died in 1753, having realized much of the " American dream," and having founded a family that reached the very peak of brilliance in the next generation in the person of Daniel Dulany the Younger. The son became the mightiest intellect in the colonies

[13] *Maryland Gazette,* June 21, 1753. See Keach Johnson, " The Baltimore Company Seeks English Subsidies for the Colonial Iron Industry," *M. Hist. Mag.,* XLIV (March, 1951), 27-43.

[14] See Land Records, Frederick County, Liber F, folios 47-48; Liber J, folio 333 (Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland).

[15] Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion* (New York, 1949), p. 93.

and an ardent defender of free institutions at the time of the Stamp Act.[16]

Thomas Cresap was born in Yorkshire some time between 1685 and 1694, and died in 1790. At no time was he quite sure of his age. In any case he came to Maryland as a young man in 1715, the year the first King George came to the English throne. He wasted no time in repairing to the frontier which he found at the "Falls of Potowmack." The city of Washington now stands where Cresap entered the howling wilderness. During the next fifteen years Cresap acquired one "plantation" after another, each successive home deeper into the interior of Frederick County, which at that time comprised all of western Maryland. About 1736 he appeared in the center of the stage of middle colonial affairs as a prisoner of the colony of Pennsylvania, charged with murder and waging war on the Penn commonwealth. The worst offence of this "Maryland Monster," in an age of inter-colonial rivalry, was apparently one of rhetoric.[17] As a captive in Philadelphia he remarked, with ". . . horrid Oaths & the most abusive language, . . ." taunting his captors who had him in chains, "Damn it, this [is] one of the Prettyest Towns in Maryland."[18] Such aspersion on the commonwealth of Pennsylvania could only be assuaged by an acrimonious and persuasive correspondence between the new Attorney General of Maryland, Dulany, and the governor of the Quaker colony. Finally this giant of the back country, too dangerous to hold as a prisoner, was returned to Maryland where his offenses seemed far less heinous, and the charges were dropped.[19] Cresap soon emerged on the farthest western frontier to continue his mission of subduing the wilderness.

During the subsequent years, when Dulany was busy with his land speculation, Cresap was able to repay his debt of gratitude

[16] Daniel Dulany, *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes on British Colonies, for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament* (Annapolis, 1765); "Military and Political Affairs in the Middle Colonies in 1765," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, III (1879), 11-31.

[17] Kenneth P. Bailey, *Thomas Cresap: Maryland Frontiersman* (Boston, 1944), p. 56 ff.

[18] Deposition of George Aston, December 3, 1736, *Pennsylvania Archives*, edited by Samuel Hazard, First Series, I, 510.

[19] *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland*, 1732-1753, edited by William Hand Browne, *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 113.

incurred in the Pennsylvania affair. With his experience in frontier ways he was invaluable to the Annapolis promoter. It is easy to see, upon inspection of Cresap's will, that his ambition of peopling western Maryland was not realized solely as a labor of love. He and Dulany both profited in sound Maryland currency and even sounder Maryland real estate.[20]

Cresap, like Dulany, represented another unique element that made up the subsequent middle class bulwark of American society. He was the epitome of the rough and ready vigor of the frontier.[21] His family has come down to the present as a still-vigorous component of the republic.

In the process of transferring the leadership of Maryland from the aristocracy to the middle class, a proprietary lieutenant governor played an extremely important role. Samuel Ogle (1702-1752), offshoot of an illustrious family of military and political fame in England, resigned his commission in the Prince of Wales' Dragoons in 1731, and came to America as deputy governor for the Calvert family. Within three years he was a settled member of Maryland's dominating group of wealthy business men. He came over with the full confidence of the proprietor, with the primary purpose of recruiting his fortunes. He soon joined his name to the growing list of spokesmen for free American institutions. Many of these names still appear around Chesapeake Bay: Cresap, Tasker, Bordley, Paca, Chase, Johnson, Ridout, and many more. Their ancestors were indentured servants, councillors of state both English and American, clergymen, physicians, planters, and various blends of these. With the addition of Ogle, the occupation of proprietary governor became part of the list.

In a moment of realization of what was going on in Maryland, Lord Baltimore supplanted Ogle with a Calvert as governor, but he lived only a short while, and Ogle was reinstated. On that occasion the *Maryland Gazette*, always sensitive to local opinion, beatified the noble ex-governor, but made more practical comment on the value of having a live representative of Maryland virtue on the job:

[20] Will of Thomas Cresap, Records of Allegheny County, Maryland, Vol. A, folio 7, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

[21] John Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1882), I, 76.

No longer shall your Province mourn its fate
While Ogle's conduct guides the Helm of State;
Attending Justice round his Seat prevails . . .
Calvert reigns above, and Ogle rules below. . . .[22]

When Ogle came to America he had expected to find a situation based on the provisions of Baltimore's charter. By the terms of this remarkable document, carefully hedged around with proprietary safeguards, the governor was the viceroy of an almost absolute potentate. He was even accorded the feudal right called "View of Frank-Pledge"—fol-de-rol of medieval nostalgia.[23]

What Ogle actually found was a representative local government composed of two houses, Assembly and Council, whose composition was drawn from the same segment of society, namely, the wealthy and those becoming wealthy—not an "exclusive group." The governor quickly made his choice between the old aristocratic ideal and that of the new middle class. He attached himself to a man already well along the road to success, Benjamin Tasker, one of the Commissioners of the General Court.[24] Throughout his administration Ogle favored such men, and tried to dissuade the proprietor from sending over English candidates for office. He warned Baltimore: "These Gentry that apply to you . . . give them little encouragement . . . it is not to your interest to send them here which we are in no want of already. What we need is laborious common people." [25] In a short time he made Tasker, a few years his senior, a member of his Council of State, which was also the Upper House of Legislature. He incidentally made Miss Tasker into Mrs. Ogle—not, of course, without a suitable dowry which he was amply able to repay many times over as shown by his will in 1752.[26]

[22] *Maryland Gazette*, March 15, 1734/35. I am indebted to Commander Arthur Griese, USN (retired), of Los Angeles, California, for much of the research on Governor Ogle.

[23] Bacon's *Laws*, preface. See William Hand Browne, *Maryland: The History of a Palatinate* (Boston, 1884), pp. 177-178, for some curious examples of the survival of feudal forms in Maryland.

[24] *Maryland Gazette*, October 28, 1729.

[25] Ogle to Baltimore, 1731, *Calvert Papers No. 2*, Md. Hist. Soc. *Fund Publication 34* (Baltimore, 1912), p. 86.

[26] Will of Samuel Ogle, April 15, 1752, probated September 1, 1755 at Canterbury (Register of Wills, Somerset House, London, England). This item was

A distinction between middle class and aristocracy includes the difference in economic doctrine. The rising group disliked the mercantile theory, which they felt was too rigid, and contributed primarily to the vested aristocratic interest. There was no room within it for the expansion of free enterprise. On the other hand, the Board of Trade was the instrument of the English oligarchy, and the upper class conception of government included strict regulation of trade as germane to its existence.

Ogle, this proprietary governor of Maryland, turned advocate of middle class rights, wrote to the Board of Trade in 1734, assuring those jealous watchdogs of mercantilism that the inhabitants of Maryland ". . . always have, and will continue to send for as much of . . . British Manufactures . . . as they are able. . . ." He thus paid tribute to the idea of a favorable English balance of trade, but at the same time intimated that colonial purchasing power would be in direct ratio to colonial business. He recommended " great encouragement " to local enterprise, and pointed out that the " Province in many Parts affords a good and kindly Iron Oar, and there are at Present two Iron Works on foot. . . ." [27]

The governor was evidently inspired by such attitudes as that expressed by Dr. Charles Carroll. He informed Ogle at the outset of his administration as to what his middle class constituents wanted of a governor: no interference with local institutions, encouragement of trade and diversified farming, settlement of the frontier, lower taxes, and more roads.[28] Like sentiments are abundant in the literary relicts of such men as Charles Carroll, Benjamin Tasker, and Daniel Dulany—all partners in one of the companies extracting the " kindly Iron Oar " which had attracted Ogle's early attention.

Such evidence of middle class pragmatism could be adduced from eighteenth century records by the ream. It is enough, in conclusion, to remember that after the Revolution an English

procured through the courtesy of Mrs. Hesketh-Williams of the Herald's Office in London.

[27] Ogle to Board of Trade, October 16, 1734, Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5: 1268/145-146 (London, England).

[28] Charles Carroll to Ogle, February 17, 1731/32, " Extracts from the Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIX (September, 1924), 292.

knight, Sir Robert Eden, who was Maryland's last proprietary governor (and whose modern relative, Anthony Eden, is an honorary member of the Maryland Historical Society), rubbed shoulders in America with such heroes of that war as Colonel Thomas Cresap, and with such exponents of moderate constitutional government as Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. They were all leaders of the new American commonwealth. They were the exponents of bourgeois virtue, dead set against French radicalism, and extremely jealous of American liberty—but, could they be said to constitute an aristocracy?

# REVOLUTION OR REFORM IN 1836: MARYLAND'S PREFACE TO THE DORR REBELLION

By A. Clarke Hagensick

DURING the 1960 session of the Maryland General Assembly, two attempts to alter the state's Constitution were decisively defeated. The desire to provide more equitable legislative representation prompted the introduction of this legislation. In each instance reformers were defeated in the legislative chambers which they wished to alter. By no means were these the first instances of agitation on the question of legislative representation or basic governmental reforms in Maryland. These issues have raged throughout the state's existence, dividing parties, sections and economic and social interests. At no time was the social and political order more seriously threatened than in 1836 when crisis conditions nearly destroyed Maryland's governing institutions.[1] Tracing the development and implications of that crisis, as well as comparing it with similar agitation in Rhode Island five years later are the main purposes of this article. As such, this examination illumines partisan political activity which resulted from the clash between advocates of democratic reforms and the defenders of the aristocratic old order. Several traditional explanations of political activity are analyzed in an attempt to provide a satisfactory theoretical framework for this episode.

[1] While this episode is covered in most of the standard histories of Maryland, it receives fullest coverage in J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (3 vols.; Baltimore, 1879). For a comprehensive chronological survey see Bernard C. Steiner, "The Electoral College for the Senate of Maryland and the Nineteen Van Buren Electors," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1895), pp. 129-67.

## I

Under Maryland's Constitution of 1776, state senators were selected by an electoral college composed of two electors from each county and one each for the cities of Annapolis and Baltimore. These electors were chosen and convened in September every five years to select the fifteen members of the Maryland Senate. Vacancies occurring in the Senate between elections were to be filled by the remaining senators.

Commentators viewing the construction of the Senate early in its existence paid it glowing tribute. Samuel Chase termed it "virgin gold," and it was eulogized in *Federalist 63* as an admirable precedent for the presidential electoral college and the aristocratic features of the United States Senate.[2] Paralleling the presidential electoral college, however, the Maryland counterpart soon became an instrument of party politics. As party lines solidified, a majority on the electoral college was usually translated into unanimous control of the Senate, and this pattern persisted throughout successive changes in partisan dominance. Only in 1826 was a bipartisan Senate chosen. This was done by victorious Democrats in accordance with a campaign pledge to create a "liberal Senate," but given a partisan reversal in the election of 1831, the then ascendant Whigs reverted to the old formula and selected fifteen Whig Senators.[3]

The process of filling Senate vacancies by the choice of the remaining senators also led to severe criticism. During one five-year period, it was claimed that all but one of the senators were selected by sitting senators. This method of appointment often led to the selection of incompetent personnel. John V. L. McMahon, who admired the theory underlying the creation of the Senate, acknowledged in 1831 that the method of filling vacancies was a considerable drawback of that legislative body.

It was expected that persons, themselves selected for their high qualifications, were peculiarly fitted for the selection of their fellows. Yet, although men may beget like as an involuntary consequence,

---

[2] John V. L. McMahon, *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1831), I, 480.

[3] Steiner, p. 133. The Senate chosen in 1826 was composed of eleven Democrats and four Federalists. The latter party was active in Maryland long after it had disappeared as a national force. Without any gap, it evolved into the Whig Party by 1831.

they will not always voluntarily appoint like. They cannot, in general bear 'a rival near the throne;' and much less will they bring a rival near it.[4]

Given the partisan flavor of the senatorial electoral college and the vicious method of filling vacancies, it is no wonder that critics of the Senate considered it reduced from "virgin gold" to a tarnished whore.

Other characteristics of the governmental apparatus established by Maryland's Constitution of 1776 also raised the ire of agitators afflicted with the principles of Jacksonian democracy. Though its members were elected by direct popular vote, and Maryland had removed property qualifications for suffrage in 1802, the lower house was grossly malapportioned by the third decade of the eighteenth century. The Constitution merely doubled the composition of the senatorial college in constructing a lower chamber. Each county, regardless of size or population, had four delegates; the cities of Annapolis and Baltimore each received two seats in the popular assembly. With the special representation of the two cities, Maryland in 1836 had the equivalent of twenty counties. Hence if a party could gain majorities in the eleven most sparsely populated jurisdictions, it could secure a majority of seats in the lower house and, through the peculiarities of the senatorial electoral college, all of the seats in the Senate.

As if control of the legislative process by the small counties was not enough, the Constitution of 1776, written at a time of reaction against royal governors in the several states, also provided for the selection of the Governor and the Governor's Council by an annual joint ballot in the legislature. A malapportioned legislature, therefore, not only determined legislative policy, but chose the state's chief executive officers as well. Small wonder that citizens of heavily populated judisdictions considered the governmental deck stacked against them. Nor was this simply a pattern of heavily versus sparsely populated counties; in general, Whig strength within the state was centered in the tidewater counties. These areas held a relatively

[4] McMahon, I, 489. McMahon, a Whig, advocated reforms of the Senate and other state institutions, but as the crisis developed in 1836, he fought bitterly against the insurgent Van Buren Democrats. Following the crisis, he was selected to be a senator, but he declined to serve.

small portion of the state's population, but a relatively large number of counties. The Democratic-Republicans were principally located in the heavily populated areas in the northern and western areas of the state. With this division of partisan strength the existing pattern greatly increased the prospect of Whig control of the state government.

The Governor's Council especially rankled the Democrats. At a Baltimore meeting of mechanics and workingmen in September, 1836, for instance, the Council was denounced as "odious political machinery . . . which is totally irresponsible to the people, and shields all its acts by a secrecy as impenetrable as that of the inquisition." [5] Moreover, the Council seemed to be an incubator for Federalist and, later, Whig Governors; no fewer than ten adherents of those parties graduated from the council to the executive mansion. Only one Democrat accomplished the same feat.[6]

Agitation for reform ran as a swift undercurrent during most of the years after 1800, and in some instances the reformers gained important objectives. As already recounted, universal manhood suffrage was won in 1802 on the heels of the election of the first Democratic Governor in Maryland.[7] During the incumbency of another Democratic Governor, property requirements for holding public office were removed in 1810. Little was done about the basic pattern of legislative representation, although efforts were made in 1808, 1811 and 1818 to alter the Senate. A constitutional amendment designed to abolish the Governor's Council and provide for the election of the Governor by the people was passed at the 1825 session of the General Assembly, but the amendment did not receive the necessary favorable treatment in the following legislative session.[8] In 1835, two mild reforms attained legislative assent, but they could not be effective until the legislature repeated its approval at the 1836 session. One doubled Baltimore's representation in the lower house; the other created Carroll County out of portions of Baltimore and Frederick counties. Each of these

[5] *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (October 8, 1836), 95.

[6] From 1777 until 1836, nine Democrats and eighteen Federalist-Whigs held the office.

[8] Elihu S. Riley, *A History of the General Assembly of Maryland: 1635-1904* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 333.

moves would expand the legislative power of the populous area in and to the west of Baltimore, but these were mild palliatives in comparison with the demands of reformers during that legislative session. They recommended legislation which would provide for the direct election of the Governor and Senate, eliminate the Governor's Council and apportion representation in the lower house on the basis of population. The Whig majority in the House beat back these efforts with ease. In addition, four memorials and petitions from citizens who advocated a constitutional convention were summarily tabled during the session.[9]

## II

Given the inequities of the institutional framework and the consistent refusal of the vested minority to alter the pattern substantially, frustration within the populous areas of the state and the Democratic Party created a potentially explosive situation. The outcome of the election of senatorial electors held in September, 1836, provided the spark which threatened to destroy the entire edifice of government in Maryland. In that election, the Democrats secured a majority of nearly 3,000 popular votes out of a total of 44,000 votes cast,[10] but the apportionment of electors enabled the Whigs to win twenty-one of the forty seats on the electoral college. Appalled at the prospect that a minority of the electorate and a scant majority on the electoral college could select a Senate composed exclusively of Whigs, Democrats throughout the state resolved upon a pattern of defiance which they felt would force the Whigs to accede to demands for reform.

Defiance was set within a legal framework, however, as the Democrats seized upon a constitutional provision which stipulated that twenty-four electors constituted a quorum of the electoral college. Any number of electors less than that figure could not conduct business except to adjourn from day to day. It has been suggested that this constitutional requirement of a quorum in excess of the more usual majority was written into the state's basic charter at the insistence of the tidewater

[9] Maryland, *Journal of Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland*, December Session, 1835 (Annapolis), pp. 90-91, 155-56, 442.

[10] *Hagerstown Torch Light and Public Advertiser*, September 22, 1836. The Democratic candidates received 53.4% of the total vote.

counties which desired to protect their minority position within Maryland's governmental institutions.[11]

Regardless of its origin, the undemocratic quorum provision was utilized by the Democrats in their attempt to foster reform. Specifically, the nineteen Democratic electors simply refused to attend the electoral college when it was to convene. With the absence of a quorum the twenty-one Whigs could do nothing but adjourn daily. Democratic strategy was disarmingly simple. Their electors would refuse to attend the electoral college unless the Whigs agreed to select at least eight reform Democrats as senators. This should be done, according to the Democrats, in recognition of the mandate for reform reflected in the tabulation of popular votes in the recent election. Aware that the Whigs would accept this demand with extreme reluctance, the Democrats were prepared to play a waiting game in a situation where time seemed to be on their side.

While the electoral college remained prostrate, the passage of time would soon mark the end of the current Senate's term. Without the selection of a new Senate, there could not be a General Assembly. Without a legislature, a Governor and Council could not be selected. Lacking legislative and executive authority, Maryland would revert to a state of nature in which the people could construct a new government through a constitutional convention. With this in mind, the Democrats scheduled a reform convention in Baltimore in November and called for the selection of delegates to it.

The Whigs, however, refused to guarantee the selection of a majority of Democrats in the new Senate. They also declined to accept a Democratic compromise which specified the selection of a majority of senators who, regardless of partisan affiliation, advocated a constitutional convention. The deadlock remained, but public agitation increased in succeeding weeks as the partisan disputants attempted to show that public sentiment supported their goals.

Public meetings, the most common and significant expression of public opinion during this period, played an important role as the controversy developed and moved to a climax. The instructions followed by the nineteen Democratic electors had

[11] Scharf, III, 190.

been formulated and endorsed at a meeting in Frederick on September 10, 1836. Similar meetings were held in Elkton, Bel Air, Hagerstown and Baltimore in succeeding weeks. Protests against the action of the nineteen electors were organized and staged by Whigs in Baltimore, Hagerstown, Cumberland, Leonardtown and Rockville. These meetings usually followed a distinct format. Following the selection of officers and the appointment of a resolutions committee, the entire assemblage would vote, invariably in the affirmative, on the resolutions as drafted. Democrats in Hagerstown called for reform, and in ominous tones acknowledged that " usual means of redress have proven ineffectual. We must, therefore, recur to first principles, adopting as our motto the language of the (Maryland) bill of rights . . ." which reserved for the people the power to reconstitute their government.[12] In reply, Whigs warned against the danger involved in the course followed by their partisan opponents. " The crisis is an awful one . . . if the revolutionary spirit, now stalking abroad amongst us, is not promptly subdued . . . upon you will rest the fearful responsibility of being the first in the country of Washington, to give liberty a mortal wound." [13]

In several instances, the dispute threatened to leave the forensic level as tempers responded to the frayed nerves produced by the increasing tension. Amid scuffling, outnumbered reformers in Allegany County attempted to adjourn a meeting in Cumberland on October 14 by " blowing out the lights, and leaving." Order and illumination were restored, and anti-reform resolutions were adopted. Some time earlier, a " committee of vigilance " had been created in the Cumberland area. Composed of nine members, the committee was instructed " to communicate information of any revolutionary movement to the several committees appointed in other districts . . . ." [14] It was also in Cumberland that the local grand jury returned indictments against the electors who boycotted the senatorial electoral college. Because these electors intend " to subvert the government and endanger the public tranquility," the jury

[12] *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (October 22, 1836), 120.
[13] *Ibid.*, (October 1, 1836), 69-70.
[14] *Ibid.*, October 1, 1836), 74, (October 29, 1836), 134.

presented them "*as unfaithful public agents and disturbers of the public peace.*" [15]

In the meantime, three events significantly affected the situation and forced the reluctant Democratic electors to reappraise their strategy. The first two were the elections held in October to select members of Maryland's lower house, and, in November to select presidential electors. In each instance, the Whigs won overwhelming victories. The October polling reflected a reversal of the senatorial college election held the month before. This time the Whigs captured an impressive majority of the popular vote and translated this majority into an enormous share of the seats in the House of Delegates. Altogether, sixty Whigs and only twenty Democrats were elected to that chamber. Several mitigating factors, however, tended to exaggerate the extent of this triumph. In the hub of Democratic strength, Frederick County, the Democratic slate of nominees withdrew from the ballot. This conceded the selection of four Whigs from that county who otherwise would not have been expected to win.[16] It has already been noted that the equal representation of counties in the lower house operated advantageously for the Whigs since they held predominant strength in most of the sparsely populated counties. Despite these qualifications, the Whig victory was decisive,[17] and the results led Whigs to contend

> There is not . . . in our whole political history, a more signal instance of prompt and emphatic rebuke, administered at the hands of the people, to derelict public servants, than that which the results of our late election furnishes.[18]

Several Democrats interpreted the election results as a mandate for the ends sought by the nineteen truant electors, but in general these explanations seemed to be frantic rationalizations

[15] *Ibid.*, (October 22, 1836), 122.

[16] The Frederick County Democratic nominees removed their names on the grounds that a constitutional convention was scheduled by the reformers on the third Monday in November. Given this call for a basic re-examination of the state's charter, the Democrats in Frederick argued that the election of delegates to the lower house would be superfluous. The Van Burenites also lacked a delegate ticket in Worcester County, but the latter was normally a Whig stronghold. Scharf, III, 194.

[17] Whig candidates for the eighty seats received 83,212 votes while the Democrats polled 66,204. *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (October 8 and 15, 1836), 85, 100.

[18] *Hagerstown Torch Light and Public Advertiser*, October 13, 1836.

of an increasingly tenuous position.[19] One of the nineteen, John Sellman of Anne Arundel County, broke ranks shortly after the election and joined the Whigs in the electoral college.

On November 7, votes were cast in the presidential contest that pitted Willam Henry Harrison against Martin Van Buren. The results paralleled those of October as the Whig candidate received an impressive majority in Maryland. Once again, the voters seemed to voice their concern over the threat to the established order posed by the Democrats. Despite their impressive victory in September, the Democrats met stunning defeats in the two succeeding months while they attempted to translate their popular support into a program of basic governmental reform.

From the beginning of the prolonged dispute in mid-September until early November, Governor Veazey, an ardent and conservative Whig, remained silent. He refused to enter the fray in any official capacity although correspondence sent to his office as early as September 24, 1836 advised him to take positive action to circumvent the Democratic tactics.[20] With the results of the presidential election in hand, Veazey took the offensive. His proclamation of November 8 bitterly castigated the recusant electors as " unfaithful agents " who " seem vainly to have imagined that the effect of their conduct would be the destruction and overthrow of the constitution and government of the state." If the Democratic plot would be allowed to run its course, Veazey contended that

> . . . these unprecedented, unconstitutional, disorderly and revolutionary occurrences and proceedings . . . are fraught with incalculable evils and mischiefs, and *must* . . . greatly disturb the tranquility and peace of the state . . . and . . . involve us in all the horrors and unspeakable calamities of anarchy, intestine commotion and CIVIL WAR, and therefore, demand from the executive the adoption of such constitutional and legal measures as may seem to them best adapted to quiet the public mind . . . to defeat the unholy designs and purposes . . . and maintain and support the constitution and authority of the government.[21]

---

[19] At least two of the nineteen Democratic electors made public attempts to justify their continued refusal to join the electoral college. *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (October 15, 1836), 105.

[20] Letter from Thomas C. Worthington to Governor Thomas W. Veazey, September 24, 1836; Maryland, Governor, " Miscellaneous Papers and Accounts," Maryland Hall of Records.

[21] *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (November 12, 1836), 165.

After portraying the anarchical ends pursued by the Democrats, Governor Veazey unveiled the weapon designed to thwart the strategy of the recusant electors. He called the recently elected House of Delegates and the Senate which had been constituted in 1831 into a special session on November 21. This unique amalgamation of an old Senate and a new House could then, according to Veazey, adopt such measures as might be necessary to preserve the constitution of the state. The proclamation concluded with the resounding command that civil officers of the state vigilantly perform their duties, and that "all military officers and citizens . . . hold themselves in readiness, in case their services may become necessary." [22]

The gubernatorial request for military preparedness did not go unheeded. In Prince George's County, the Planters Guards tendered their services to the executive, and the commanding officer issued a call for volunteers to meet at Upper Marlboro on November 19.[23] From another sector, Governor Veazey was advised of compliance with his order along with somewhat distressing intelligence; the armory at Frederick reported a woeful deficiency of supplies in the eventuality of a "draught." The commander of the garrison wrote that

> to place us, then, in a condition to render efficient service in any contingency which may arise out of the anarchy which threatens us, I respectfully suggest to your Excellency the precautionary measure of ordering two thousand stand of arms to the armory . . . subject to such disposition as the crisis may require.[24]

Meanwhile, some Democrats remained unmoved by the force of the Governor's logic. The *Baltimore Republican,* a mouthpiece for Jacksonian Democrats, unleashed a polemical denunciation of the proclamation "issued by *King* Veazey, by the advice of their *high mightynesses,* the executive council." In no uncertain terms, Veazey was accused of usurping authority in calling the hybrid General Assembly into special session. "We own no despot's sway," the editorial proclaimed, and it concluded with the admonition to resist any attempt ". . . to

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*, (November 19, 1836), 185.

[24] Letter from Brigadier General Thomas C. Worthington to Governor Thomas W. Veazey, Frederick, November 11, 1836; Maryland, Governor, "Miscellaneous Papers and Accounts," Maryland Hall of Records.

sustain the present rotten constitution and the rotten-hearted cormorants who are feeding at the public crib under its provisions." [25] Within a week, the reform convention opened in Baltimore. Almost every county had chosen delegates for this conclave. The group reiterated the reform sentiments which had shaped and guided their activity during the preceding months, and they bitterly decried the aspersions cast upon them by Governor Veazey.[26]

Yet the election results took their toll. Just as one Democrat capitulated after the October election and joined the senatorial electoral college, so too did four others following the presidential contest. These Democrats joined the college on November 19—significantly the date on which the Planters Guards grouped at Upper Marlboro. With twenty-six members, the electoral college finally achieved a quorum, and a unanimous slate of Whigs were selected to sit in Maryland's upper chamber. Each senator-elect received twenty-one votes; the five Democrats cast blank ballots.[27] The battle which had racked the state for more than two months was over.

The Whigs scored impressive victories in the wake of the total failure of the Democratic strategy. Not only did the Whigs retain unanimous control of the senate, they also increased their majority in the lower house and captured the state for their presidential candidate. Democrats saw their popular vote majority in September overwhelmingly reversed in the two succeeding elections. It would have taken more than normal modesty to keep Whigs from proclaiming that the forces of reform and revolt were repudiated with the expression of confidence in Whig principles and methods.

## III

One might expect that the Whig victory would have made improbable the demands for reform espoused by the Democrats. At least, it would be supposed that the latter would have to

[25] *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (November 12, 1836), 165-66.

[26] Scharf, III, 194.

[27] *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (November 26, 1836). See Heinrich Ewald Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland from the Revolution to the Year 1908* (Baltimore, 1908), p. 128. The four Democratic electors were Wesley Linthicum of Anne Arundel County, Marcy Fountain of Caroline County and Enoch George and John B. Thomas of Queen Anne's County.

await more favorable election results before they could seriously hope for the enactment of their goals. However, in the ensuing regular session of the General Assembly which began on December 26, 1836, nearly all of the reform proposals were enacted in the most extensive revision of a constitution made during a legislative session in Maryland. Provision was made for the direct election of the Governor and the Senate, the Governor's Council was abolished and replaced by a Secretary of State, and the lower house was reapportioned on the basis of a population formula rather than the principle of county equality. Tied in with the governmental reforms was a rider which stipulated that only the unanimous vote of the legislature could abolish slavery in Maryland.

This amendment received second legislative assent during the 1837 session and became effective in 1838. Of the major reforms advocated by the Democrats, the omnibus package covered all but the recommendations of limited terms for judges and the popular election of county clerks and registers. Moreover, the Whigs refrained from passing legislation urged by Governor Veazey to strengthen the state's laws relating to conspiracy and sedition. Given the turmoil which occurred during the fall of 1836, the Whigs might naturally have enacted vindictive legislation designed to embarrass their political enemies. The select committee appointed "to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill making it a high crime and misdemeanor for citizens to conspire against the constitution of the state" returned an unfavorable report buttressed by the conclusion that the existing law plus general executive powers would be sufficient to meet any future crisis.[28]

Several seemingly plausible explanations can be offered to account for the unexpected reforms sponsored and enacted while Whigs held huge legislative majorities. Dynamic and far-sighted executive leadership, the Whig desire to steal Democratic thunder by championing reform in order to become a permanent majority in the state, or merely a holding action to stave off more radical reform in the future are three explanations.

Advocating the shrewd and vigorous leadership of Governor Veazey to explain the inauguration of reform has been a tack

[28] *Niles Weekly Register*, LII (April 1, 1837), 73-74.

followed by a number of commentators. Heinrich Bucholz, for example, argued that Veazey was the master strategist in the paradoxical situation in which " the foes of republicanism " granted the State republican reforms.[29] Similarly, another writer noted that " having triumphed over lawlessness the Governor himself took the initiative in remedying the grievous conditions which had caused the trouble," and the legislature followed the executive's wishes.[30] As a prime illustration of his dominant position, these writers point to Veazey's unanimous re-election by the legislature on January 2, 1837.

Other than the results of the gubernatorial election of 1837 there is little to support the view that Veazey played an important, or even an active role in the development of the reform legislation. Even his unanimous re-election is less than a convincing index of his sway over the legislature. Governors were elected annually by the legislature, and they were allowed to serve a maximum of three years. Unless a party lost its legislative majority, governors typically served for the permitted three terms. Hence it was not particularly surprising to have the Whigs support Veazey for re-election. Nor was his unanimous selection particularly noteworthy. The minority party in the Maryland legislature usually did not cast its votes for a specific candidate. Minority members either submitted blank ballots or refrained from voting altogether. In light of the fact that the Whigs controlled seventy-five seats in the General Assembly, Veazey's total of seventy votes presumably included only Whig support.[31]

Moreover, the available documents indicate that Veazey did not provide a great deal of positive leadership on the constitutional revision. His proclamation calling the special session, his address to that session, and his addresses to the two succeeding regular sessions contain no more than one paragraph in each instance on the subject. Typically, he made a general comment about reform near the end of the message and deferred to the judgment of the legislature on specific measures. When

[29] Bucholz, p. 124.

[30] *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1925), IV, 46. See also Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (Garden City, N. Y., 1929), p. 464.

[31] *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (January 7, 1837), 289. Eighty-one votes were cast; eleven blanks.

the short-lived special session met, Veazey's message dismissed the importance of constitutional reform on the grounds that liberty had not been endangered. He acknowledged, however, that it might be desirable to reapportion the lower house on a population basis similar to that used for the United States House of Representatives. This was the only specific proposal Veazey referred to the legislature in official communications. In contrast, he devoted lengthy sections of his messages to detailed expositions of legislation he considered necessary on the subjects of education, internal improvements and seditious activity. Indeed, the fate of the last recounted above gives an indication of Veazey's leadership abilities in reverse. Although on several occasions he strongly recommended strengthening the sedition laws, the legislature refused to follow his guidance.

Perhaps the most poignant indication of Governor Veazey's relationship to the reform amendment is contained in a letter written during his last year in the executive mansion. Although he called upon his correspondent to destroy the letter " as soon as you read it," it has survived as a penetrating self-analysis of this enigmatic politician.

> [C]ontrast my situation with what is was before the alteration of the Constitution. Then I had a council of friends around me, that was ready and willing to sustain me in all difficulties and to whom I could appeal for advice and council [*sic*] without any fear of being misled, and with a clerk that I knew to be the best qualified man for the office in the State . . . And now . . . what is my situation? I am here in this empty chamber without a Council, without clerk, without one friend to whom I can turn, to ask advice.

Following this bitter comparison, Veazey looked forward with anticipation to the time when he could " lay down this office and return once more to my happy home." [32] It is difficult to reconcile this image of a frustrated, defeated and lonely man with the claim that Veazey was a shrewd and dynamic political strategist who provided the impetus for the successful passage of the reform bill.

As a second explanation of the action taken by the Whig

[32] Letter from Governor Thomas W. Veazey to Col. Nathaniel Williams, March 9, 1838; Maryland Hall of Records. The letter was written nearly ten months before the end of Veazey's third term.

Party as it enacted the reform legislation, it can be argued that through this tactic the Whigs hoped to cloak themselves as the responsible and trustworthy exponents of reform. In so doing, they would borrow liberally from the campaign platform of the opposing party, thus enhancing their party's position in the eyes of the public while at the same time sapping the appeal of the opposition. This process has frequently been cited as a prime characteristic of a party's method to attain and remain in a majoritarian position. The bare chronology of events in this Maryland episode would seem to be consistent with this interpretation. Yet there is very little evidence which suggests that the Whigs actually intended to follow this strategem. It is true that shortly after the electoral college impasse developed, Baltimore Whigs proclaimed that "Our motto is, '*constitutional reform and no revolution.*'" Self-proclaimed friends of reform, they conceded that the state constitution should be amended in certain respects.[33] The position espoused by these Baltimoreans must be weighed against several factors. First, the Democrats held predominant power within the city; even in the Whig landslide in the October election for lower house representatives, Democrats won both of the city's seats. Under these circumstances, it might be expected that the Whigs would tend to be more liberal than in areas where they held overwhelming control. Secondly, given the minority position of Whigs within Baltimore, it would be assumed that they would wield a restricted voice within Whig conclaves.

If the argument is accepted that the Whigs intended to cast themselves as reformers in order to become the permanent majority in Maryland, a review of election results from 1838 until the Civil War shows that the Whigs fared poorly in the attempt. A Democrat became the first popularly elected Governor in 1838, and Democrats competed for the office successfully in four of the suceeding six elections. Only in 1843 on the heels of nearly disastrous Democratic fiscal policies and in 1857 when the Know Nothing candidate emerged victorious was the Democratic hold on the state's highest executive office broken.

Speaking from a perspective fifteen years after the crisis, a

[33] *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (October 1, 1836), 70-74. Details were not given outlining the specific amendments considered desirable, however.

Whig delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1851 may have accurately presented the feelings commonly held by Whigs when the reform legislation was passed. After admitting that the reforms now merited his "gratitude and approbation," he acknowledged that when the innovations were made "he was compelled to regard it as the darkest hour in the modern annals of our State." [34] Similarly, another Whig delegate bitterly complained that "in 1836 the Legislature . . . yielded to the principles and demands of demagogues . . . That year will ever be looked upon and held in memory, as the beginning of our downfall." [35] Neither of these comments can be construed as indications of shrewd Whig acceptance of the reform badge. Of course, by 1851, hindsight, noting the frequent victories of the opposition, may have embittered the most ardent Whig reformer.

Even shortly after the passage of the reform amendments, however, the Whigs illustrated reluctance to take credit for the reforms. During a hotly contested campaign for a congressional seat in western Maryland, Whigs bombarded the incumbent, Francis Thomas, with vitriolic references to his participation in the revolt of the nineteen. A typical campaign tract emphasized "nineteen reasons" why Thomas should not be re-elected without mentioning the Whig reform record.[36] Doubtless the Whigs felt it advantageous to tie "revolution" to Thomas, but at a time when emotions had cooled this amounted to giving him credit for reform as well. Thomas was re-elected.

The assumption that the Whigs embraced mild reforms in order to stave off more radical efforts by the Democrats generates a certain plausibility. Without doubt, Whig axioms with respect to the nature of political representation and the division between legislative and executive power were seriously threatened by Democratic agitation. Even the victory in the immediate battle might not placate Whig fears that the Democrats might accomplish a drastic overhaul of the state's institutions in the future. Adopting basic governmental reforms on their

[34] Maryland, *Debates and Proceedings of the Maryland Reform Convention to Revise the State Constitution* (Annapolis, 1851), I, 162.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 439.

[36] See, for example, *Hagerstown Torchlight and Public Advertiser*, July 13, 1837. Thomas participated in drafting the resolutions followed by the nineteen. He also appeared in Annapolis to devise strategy after the boycott had begun. He was elected Governor in 1841.

own initiative, the Whigs could hope to avoid extreme action by the opposition later. At the same time, by passing the reform amendment while they held legislative majorities, the Whigs were able to remove the institution of slavery from the vicissitudes of subsequent majorities.

A critical factor remains inconsistent with the explanation that the reform was simply a holding action. The amendment sponsored by the Whigs was much more extreme than would be expected in that event. Any of the reforms taken singly could easily be viewed consistently with this doctrine. The combination of reforms in the omnibus revision of the Constitution goes well beyond the scope of expected compromise. Viewed from this perspective, it would be a bit like using the guillotine as a cure for a head cold.

The explanations offered by commentators as well as general interpretations of political activity fail to account for significant factors involved in the emergency and the reforms which resulted from it. As an alternative, it seems instructive to approach the episode from a different perspective. Instead of attempting to discern positive action designed by Whig leaders to abet a partisan cause, an emphasis on the extent to which Whigs were caught by forces which they could neither comprehend nor control may provide the key to understanding this paradoxical situation. When the Democratic electors decided to boycott the senatorial electoral college on the grounds that the voice of the majority demanded that course of action, Whigs responded with well-reasoned attacks on majoritarianism and defenses of aristocratic representative and executive institutions. Within two months, the Whig Party received two ringing endorsements at the polls. Instead of taking advantage of the endorsements to substantiate their principles, the Whigs seemed to be perplexed by the election results. Ironically, they were dependent upon the will of the majority to buttress undemocratic principles. The temperamental outlook of the Whig Party—its collection of traditions, aspirations and ideals—mitigated against its effective use of a majoritarian mandate. In a sense, the Whigs became victims of their own success because they were unable to reconcile the concept of the popular mandate with their prevailing political maxims.

To sharpen the focus on the theory of the temperamental

outlook of a political party as an explanation of the results of the 1836 crisis, it is plausible to assume that the Whigs would have felt more at home in the political battle utilizing undemocratic institutional devices rather than a popular mandate. When the elections resulted in impressive Whig victories, the Whigs, as repositories of popular favor, seemed to respond almost automatically with sponsorship of the reforms advocated by their opponents. The inclusion of the slavery rider in the reform measure reflected the confusion and panic which seemed to engulf the Whig approach to reform. Not that it would be unexpected for a political party to adopt constitutional safeguards for a policy cherished by many of its members; what is more noteworthy is the fact that the Whigs felt constrained to express the safeguard in terms which specified that slavery could never be repealed in Maryland without the unanimous consent of both legislative chambers. Couching the constitutional restriction with a requirement of unanimity, the Whigs seemed to recognize that they had unwittingly unleashed a set of drastic reforms which would react to their disadvantage. Nevertheless, the reforms were enacted.

The Whig psychology is also illustrated in the action taken by Governor Veazey after he called the legislation into special session. As already recounted, he issued a call for the newly elected House of Delegates and the old Senate to convene. Partisan rebuttal to this action emphasized the alleged usurpation of authority and unconstitutionality of Veazey's maneuver, and in the process, party lines were abruptly switched. Democrats, champions of wide-sweeping executive power on the national level, advocated a narrow construction of executive authority. Whigs, propagators in the not-too-distant past of "King Andrew" charges, found their leader assailed in similar terms. Obviously stung by criticism which suggested a deviation from the Whig doctrine of legislative supremacy, Veazey devoted a substantial portion of his special session message to an exposition of the legal precedents justifying the appearance of a heterogeneous legislature. The message is all the more revealing when it is noted that the General Assembly was never formally organized during the special session to carry on legislative business.[37] Normally, a chief executive awaits word that

[37] *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (December 3, 1836), 213-14. The lower house

the legislature is organized before submitting messages to it. That Governor Veazey refused to wait under these circumstances lends credence to the opinion that he felt constrained to issue a public justification of his action at all costs. In effect, he was compelled to disassociate himself from an alleged deviation from basic Whig tenets. The clutch of the temperamental demeanor of the Whig Party seemed to hold Veazey firmly in sway.

It is instructive to examine the role of the Democratic Party as the crisis developed and reached a climax. Throughout the episode, Democrats frequently found themselves espousing action contrary to the basic principles of their party. In succession, the Democrats utilized the undemocratic quorum requirement in the senatorial electoral college, condemned Governor Veazey by advocating narrow construction of executive authority, and, at least for the fourteen Democratic electors who never relented in their boycott of the electoral college, rejected the indication of popular sentiment reflected in the October and November elections. When the Whig-dominated legislature promptly passed the reform amendment, the Democrats were placed in an awkward position. To counter this development, the Democrats fell back on two partisan pleas. First, they attempted to gain credit for the passage of the reforms on the grounds that their activity had forced the Whigs to act. Thus, at their state convention in 1838, the Democrats argued that the united and determined efforts of the Democratic Party forced the legislature to adopt the constitutional amendment.[38]

Secondly, the Democrats argued that reform was incomplete and pointed specifically to the judiciary where no changes were made. Consistent with the claim that additional reform was necessary, the Democrats continued to agitate for a constitutional convention.[39] This remained a party war cry until 1850 when the necessary machinery was created to hold a convention. Despite the forthright pleas for additional reform, it is interesting to note that the reform convention of 1850-1851 constructed a new Constitution which did not alter considerably the governmental structure produced by the amended Consti-

organized, but the Senate was unable to secure a quorum. After five fruitless days the House adjourned.

[38] *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), June 7, 1838.

[39] *Ibid.*, April 12, 1838.

tution of 1776. As the Democrats developed these arguments, it was also incumbent upon them to deny the revolutionary implications of the 1836 conflict. Naturally, they did not wish to carry the rebel mantle in succeeding elections. Thus, in 1851, a Democrat who had been a Whig in 1836, blocked the charge that Maryland in 1836 provided a parallel with the Dorr rebellion in Rhode Island. He argued that " there was nothing in the condition or character of the State of Maryland to justify any parallel." [40]

To be sure, Democrats trod a precarious line when at one and the same time they argued that their activity had forced the Whigs to pass reform, but that the agitation was not revolutionary in character. On several occasions, the balance was lost. For example, Baltimore Democrats proclaimed in 1838:

> The ruling party that passed our reform bill were [*sic*] the only party in the State opposed to reform, and they resisted it until they lost the power of governing without it. . . . The wheels of government were locked and brought to a stand by the reformers, before the Whig party consented to any change of the Constitution. . . . They promised us no reform until they were reduced to the last extremity of political existence.[41]

Similarly, when the Democrats issued the call for a constitutional convention to be held in mid-November, 1836, it was emphasized that the convention would be clothed with full power to provide the remnants of a government until a new constitution could be drawn. In both of these statements, the suggestion and acknowledgment of a revolutionary situation cannot be disputed.

Thus, despite Democratic claims to the contrary, the agitation in 1836 bears distinct similarity to the Dorr Rebellion in Rhode Island five years later. In both cases, incensed spokesmen for the popular majority in the state urged the right of the people to construct a new government as the only alternative to the iniquities of political representation produced by the existing order. With swathing strokes, the reformers in Maryland and Rhode Island advocated majority rights and powers against institutional machinery which allowed a minority to retain

[40] Maryland, *Debates and Proceedings of the Maryland Reform Convention to Revise the State Constitution*, I, 156.
[41] *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), July 8, 1838.

power. John C. Calhoun quickly recognized the proposals of the Maryland reformers as a threat to his sectional position. In Senate debate on the question of the admission of Michigan into the Union, he bitterly assailed the concept that "the authority of numbers" should prevail over the authority of law. The acceptance of this principle, according to Calhoun, would overthrow constitutional government and subvert all social order. "It is the identical principle which prompted the late revolutionary and anarchical movement in Maryland, and which has done more to shake confidence in our system of government than any event since the adoption of our constitution." Calhoun rejoiced that the "patriotism and intelligence" of the people of Maryland caused the movement to fail.[42]

## IV

From the perspective of partisan politics, "reform or revolution" in 1836 represents a panorama of ironies. The episode began when ardent democrats utilized an undemocratic institutional device in order to gain reform. It ended when the former opponents of reform enacted a comprehensive constitutional amendment which provided most of the reforms desired by the democrats. In between, the parties switched sides on a number of basic issues, a process in keeping with the American political tradition. It has been said that he who wins the battle of the choice of the battlefield wins the battle. In this case, both sides lost the crucial preliminary conflict to ascertain the terrain on which the fight would be held. Democrats entered the fray in the vanguard of popular support which they felt made their position impregnable. Within two months, defeats at the polls stripped the Democratic Party of this support. Conversely, Whigs, armed with elaborate defenses of the aristocratic order, found themselves lionized by the masses. The results? Whigs won the immediate battle almost by default and the old order triumphed over insurrection. Yet, having also lost their battle field, the conservatives sanctioned a series of reforms destined to reduce drastically their hold on the governmental apparatus of the State. The decades after 1836 witnessed the final irony; Whigs consistently decried their own reforms, and Democrats strove mightily to receive credit for them.

[42] *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (January 14, 1837), 308.

# FOUND: ONE ANCHOR FROM H.M.S. *DICTATOR*

By Frank J. Schwartz and James Green

ON February 16, 1959, a " hard hat " diver of the U. S. Naval Ordnance Test Laboratory, Solomons, Maryland, while working in 88 feet of water, 2000 feet northwest (38° 20′ 25″ N 76° 29′ 17″ W) of Point Patience in the Patuxent River, Calvert County, stubbed his foot on an object that projected a few inches above the muddy bottom. After freeing it, a heavy blob of caked mud and clay weighing nearly a ton was hoisted out of the water and onto the nearby shore. Careful washing soon revealed a complete, odd-shaped, and fluked, wooden stocked anchor in an extremely well preserved condition. Immediate interest was aroused as to what type it represented, where it had come from, how old it was, and its nationality. Over the past two years, a search of many naval logs and listings, plus the excellent help of Mr. A. W. H. Pearsall of the National Maritime Museum, London, England, Mr. R. Burgess of the Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Virginia, and Mr. M. Peterson of the U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C.,—to all of whom we extend our heartiest thanks—have now solved many of the questions originally posed.

The anchor (Fig. 1) stock was 9′4″ long and consisted of two pieces of wood banded together by four three-inch iron straps. The octagonal shank, below the stock, was 7′4″ long with a total length of 8′7″ overall. A ring, two inches thick and 1′7″ in outside diameter was attached through the shank above the stock. This ring was overlaid with rope which was covered with canvas that had been pitched (Fig. 2). Close examination of the shank revealed the letters " Rec Chat 6x3x24″ (Fig. 3). On the under surface of the stock were inscribed the scrawled letters " Dictator " with broad arrows facing in opposite directions on each portion of the stock (Fig. 4). On the upper surface, near the ring, was the number " 6625." The tips of the flukes were 63 inches apart and each fluke measured 16 x 19 inches.

It was soon learned that "Rec Chat" meant "Received Chatham," which implies that the anchor had been made by a contractor. The number "6625" was the number of the anchor. Although a date was usually inscribed when "Old Plan" anchors of 1700 vintage were constructed, this had apparently been obliterated. The broad arrow on the stock was the traditional mark of British Government property. Likewise, the custom at that time was to mark on the stock the name of the ship, weight of the anchor ($6 \times 3 \times 24 = 780$ pounds), and the anchor number (6625) as we found them.

Thus, it is now known that the above anchor was an "Old Plan" kedge anchor from the man-of-war *Dictator* (Fig. 5), which was used as a troop ship during the War of 1812 and which, apparently, was in the Patuxent River near Point Patience to fight Barney's gun boats during the summer of 1814, when (Cover): "On June 6, 1814, a strong American flotilla commanded by Commodore Joshua Barney, consisting of the sloop *Scorpion* with 8 carronades and a long gun, and 16 gun boats, one long gun in the bow and another in the stern, the largest 32 pounders, with 60 men; the others 18 pounders and 40 men, moored in a close line across St. Leonard's Creek, were attacked by the boats of the British squadron in the Chesapeake, under the command of Capt. Robert Barrie of the 74-gun ship *Dragon* and supported by the 38-gun frigate *Loire*, Capt. Thos. Brown; 18-gun brig *Jasseur*, Capt. Geo. Edw. Watts; and 13-gun schooner *St. Lawrence*. Capt. Barrie, by a discharge of rockets and carronades tried to provoke the Americans to come down within reach of the guns of the supporting vessels. But the Americans, after chasing the boats for some distance, returned to their moorings." [1]

The *Dictator* (Fig. 5) was built in 1783 by Batson and Company at Limehouse, England. The length on gun deck was 159′6″, on keel was 131′0″. Its breadth was 44′6″, depth 18′ and it weighed 1379 tons. This ship, when employed as a troop ship, often carried 500 men and was armed with 64 cannons. She saw immediate action in the Baltic Sea and around Egypt. It is, however, only in the Captain's log that there is any note of her being in the United States. Her 15 known captains and areas of action are listed below (Table 1). No data are avail-

[1] Data furnished with the cover painting depicting the famous battle of St. Leonard's Creek, which may be viewed at the Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Va.

FIG. 1. Anchor from the H. M. S. *Dictator* immediately after being washed clear of encased mud. Photo by F. Schwartz.

FIG. 2. Anchor ring, 1′ 7″ outside diameter, showing excellent preserved condition of the rope and cloth overlay. Photo by J. Green.

FIG. 3. Shank of anchor on which appeared the engraved letters "Rec Chat." Photo by J. Green.

FIG. 4. Stock illustrating the inscribed letters "Dictator," the method of marking the weight of the anchor "6 x 3 x 24" and the broad arrows, a sign of British Government property. Photo by J. Schwartz.

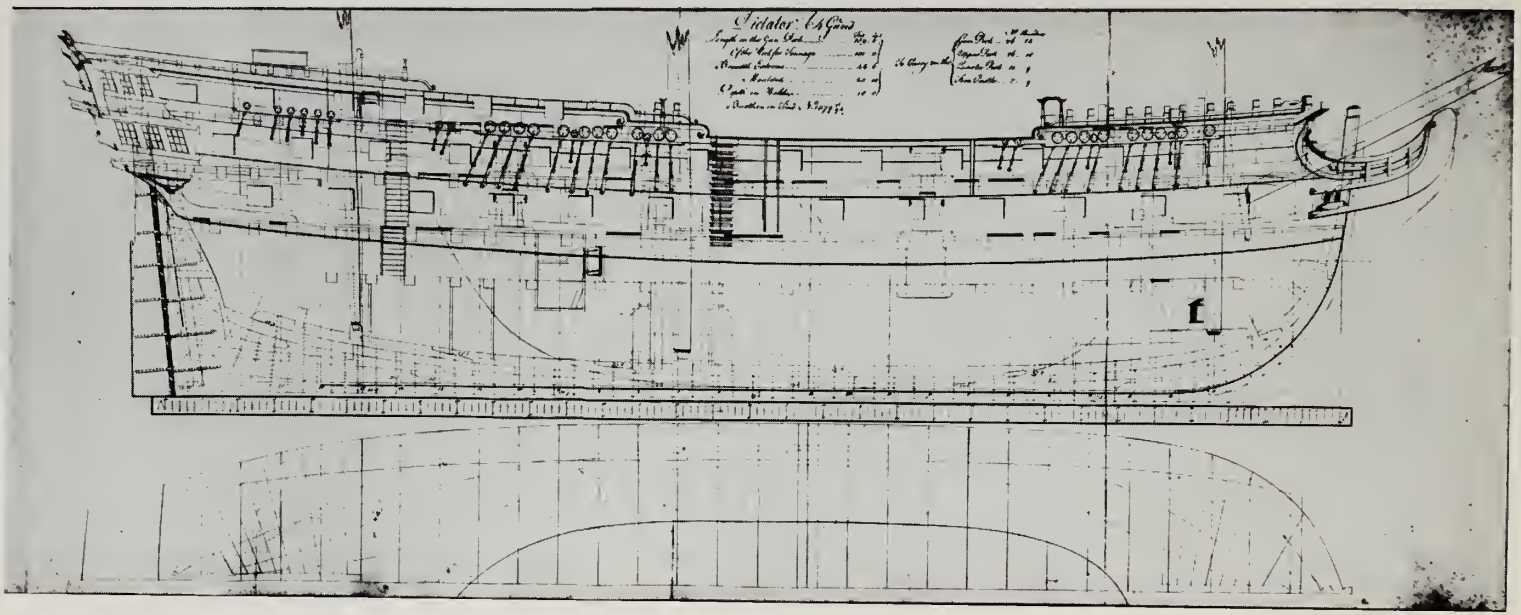


FIG. 5. Profile of 64 gun H. M. S. *Dictator*. Photo courtesy, the Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Va.

able for the period 1783-1790, and there is some doubt whether or not the ship was then in commission. Such information for these early periods is difficult to obtain as 1783-1790 records usually are not reliable or accurate, nor were there admiralty lists, as in later days. The records show that she was broken up in 1817.

TABLE 1

CAPTAINS AND AREAS OF ACTION FOR *H.M.S. Dictator* BETWEEN 1790 AND 1815

| YEAR | CAPTAIN | AREA OF ACTION |
|---|---|---|
| 1790 | R. R. Bligh | Downs |
| 1791 | J. Tonken | Nore |
| 1793-5 | E. Dod | ——— |
| 1796 | T. Totty | West Indies |
| 1797 | T. Western | West Indies |
| 1798 | T. B. Martin | Channel |
| 1798-1802 | J. Hardy | Channel |
| 1803 | J. Newhouse | Thames as floating battery |
| 1804 | Charles Tinling | Thames as floating battery |
| 1806-7 | James M'Namara | Baltic & North Sea |
| 1809 | D. Campbell | Baltic & North Sea |
| 1809-10 | R. H. Pearson | Baltic & North Sea |
| 1811-12 | Robert Williams | Baltic |
| 1813-15 | Hon. G. A. Crofton | Troopship |
| 1815 | Henry Montresor | Troopship |

Undoubtedly she was one of the smaller supporting men-of-war which Lovell [2] describes as having participated in another Battle of the Patuxent on August 17, 1814:

On the 17th of August, the *Tonnant* (80), Vice-Admiral Sir A. Cochrane; *Royal Oak* (74), Rear-Admiral P. Malcolm; several frigates and smaller men-of-war, with *twenty sail of transports*,[3] having on board the 4th, 21st, 44th, and 85th Regiments of foot, and the marine battalion, under Lieut.-Colonel Malcolm, joined the squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Cockburn, at the mouth of the river Patuxent. The land forces were commanded by the gallant Major-General Ross. We weighed on the morning of the 20th, and sailed up the river to Benedict, where we landed the

[2] *A Personal Narrative of Events from 1799 to 1815*, 2nd Ed. 1879, pp. 158-160.
[3] Our underlining to denote that The *Dictator* was probably one of these 20 sail transports.

troops, which, including artillery, sailors, and marines, did not muster more than 4500 men.

On the evening of the above day all the boats of the fleet, manned and armed, divided into divisions and sub-divisions, of which I commanded one, left the ships, advanced up the river towards Lower Marborough to attack the American gun-boats, under Commodore Barney, and likewise to act on the right flank of our army. As we advanced, the enemy's flotilla retired sixty miles further up the river to a place called Pig Point, where, in a most favourable position for defence, surrounded by banks and narrow creeks, with a wooded country on one side, and hills on the other, which were to have been lined with riflemen and other troops, it was their intention to have awaited the attack.

Late in the evening of the 21st the boats reached Nottingham, when we fired on a few American dragoons, and drove them out of the town. Our army arrived a short time afterwards. The next day, at noon, we came up with the vessels of the enemy, who on our approach set them on fire, and blew them all up, except one, which, together with five merchant schooners, we brought away. This service was performed with little loss on our side, for the advance of our infantry had driven the Americans from the woods, who had fallen back upon the main road to Washington. One division of boats proceeded to Upper Marlborough to keep a communication with our Army; the remainder occupied a position at Pig Point to cover a retreat.

No sooner was the flotilla destroyed than the brave and dashing Rear-Admiral Cockburn joined the troops, and marched with them to attack the city of Washington.

At this time one can only speculate as to how the anchor came to be at the bottom of the Patuxent River for almost 145 years since no notation of its loss from the *Dictator* was entered in the ship's log. Perhaps the *Dictator,* like so many other sailing vessels of that day, was trying to kedge around the deep and swift waters of Point Patience on a calm summer day and the anchor either fell out of a small boat or was lost overboard from the ship. Perhaps the line broke or slipped loose during a kedging operation or as she was anchored. Whether any of these possibilities is correct must remain unresolved. Today the anchor, which has been treated to prevent decay and weathering, can be viewed at the Mariner's Museum in Newport News, Virginia.

# SIDELIGHTS

## A CARGO OF FLOUR PRESENTED IN 1775 BY THE PROVINCIAL CONVENTION OF MARYLAND TO THE "PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY"

By L. Wethered Barroll

The following letter, signed by citizens of Kent and Queen Anne's Counties, Maryland, and addressed to "Thomas Smyth Esq.," Chairman of the Maryland Provincial Convention, refers to a "cargo of flour" aboard a vessel belonging to John Wethered. The original of the letter is the property of Lewin Wethered, Baltimore, a great-great-grandson of John Wethered. This flour later in 1775 was delivered, a gift to the "Province of Massachusett's Bay."

Chester Town 27th April 1775

Sir,

As provisions may be wanted for the supply of the New England Forces, which may be collected together in consequence of the late unhappy rupture between the Militia and the Regular Troops, (of which we have this day received Intelligence), We have thought proper to advise Mr. John Wethered, who has a cargo of flour on board of a vefsel, now in the Port of Annapolis, which He would dispose of at first Cost, to make an offer of it to our Provincial Convention, in hopes that they will think proper to purchase it, and have it forwarded, as a present from the Province, for the above purposes. We have no doubt but the inhabitants of this County would chearfully contribute their proportion—and we must request that you will acquaint the other Delegates from this County, and ask their concurrence in recommending it to the Convention.

We beg leave to mention that, in our opinion, the most certain conveyance would be by the way of New York, addressed to the Chairman of their Committee, to be by him forwarded, in the same Bottom, to the Port of New London, from whence it may be transported by Land to the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

We are, Sir,

Your most obedt Servants

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J. NICHOLFON | JOHN SCOTT | EZEKIL FORMAN |
| Jas ANDERSON | THOS. SMITH, Esq. | WM. BORDLEY |
| EMORY SUDLER | THOS. WILKINS | ELEAZER NEWCOMB |
| JA. McLEAN | JAS. NICHOLSON | |

This letter, written a few days after the Battle of Concord evidences the loyal feeling of Eastern Shore of Maryland people for the far off "New England Forces," animated by the same determination to resist the British.

Also, it is quite significant how quickly the people of the Eastern Shore responded and how much the first skirmishes of the Revolution absorbed their minds. Instead of passing Resolutions, or wordy Declarations, Marylanders immediately offered practical help to the "New England Forces." They offered to send flour "as a present from the Province" with no talk of the recipients giving bonds or collateral for its being paid for at some future date.

Who were the gentlemen, who, by signing this letter, placed their necks in a noose—if the British won the war.

### Thomas Smyth

Thomas Smyth of Chestertown, to whom this letter was addressed, was one of the "deputies" of the counties at Annapolis. Here also appears a list of the other "residents of the Eastern Shore" who, by a Resolution of the "Delegates of the province of Maryland agreed to . . . be a council of safety for this Province." The convention where this Resolution was later adopted was held at Annapolis July 25th to August 14th, 1775. Smyth was chairman.

It is apparent these "Deputies" were in session at Annapolis long before this "Resolution" was adopted. Thomas Smyth was a Merchant, lived in "Wide Hall," a mansion on Water Street in Chestertown, and in 1783 contributed £30 to the fund for founding Washington College. The only larger contributors were George Washington (£87.10s) and John Cadwalader (£132.6s6d.)[1]

### James Anderson

James Anderson was a Physician in Chestertown and a graduate in Medicine of the University of Edinburgh. There are sketches concerning him and his family in Hanson's *Old Kent.* (He gave £30 to found Washington College).

### Emory Sudler

Emory Sudler is one of the family for whom Sudlersville, Maryland was named. (He gave £18 to Washington College.)[1]

### Dr. John Scott

Dr. John Scott, son of Capt. John Scott and Hannah Smyth Scott,

[1] "Washington College, 1783," *Md. Hist. Mag.* (June, 1911), VI, 168.

born 1728, died in 1790. He married Elizabeth Calder. He was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

During the Revolutionary War he vaccinated 500 Revolutionary soldiers in the public square in Chestertown. He was a vestryman of St. Paul's Church in 1781 and was commissioned August 4, 1789, Collector of the Part of Chestertown, his commission signed by General Washington.[2]

### Thomas Wilkins

Thomas Wilkins appears in Hanson's *Old Kent* when "the Freeholders of the Parish (I. U.) met this day, April 20, 1772 at the Parish Church and elected Thomas Wilkins—in the room of Thomas Smith." Later on April 10, 1798, he "was elected Church Warden." [3]

### Ezekiel Forman

Ezekiel Forman was the son of Joseph and Elizabeth Lee Forman, born October 10, 1736, died May 29, 1795. He was High Sheriff of Kent County in 1776. He was Paymaster of the Eastern Shore Militia and a Member of the Council of Safety of Maryland. In 1789 he emigrated to Natchez.[4]

### William Bordley

William Bordley was a Member of the Vestry of St. Paul's Parish, Centreville, from 1771 to 1774. There were two William Bordleys about this time. One was a major or colonel in the Kent Militia and was grandson of Thomas Bordley of Annapolis, the Attorney General of Maryland, about 1715. The other was William Bordley, son of Stephen Jr. (lawyer), born in Kent County, married Mary Clayton, daughter of William and Sarah Clayton of "Chesterfield" (the site of Centreville, Queen Annes County). He was grandson of Rev. Stephen Bordley (brother of Thomas of Annapolis) who came to Maryland from England in 1696 to become rector of St. Pauls, Fairlee, Kent County. (He gave £18 to Washington College.) [5]

[2] Records of Scott's Public Service are in possession of the descendant, Mrs. Simon Wickes Wescott, Kennedyville, Md. George Adolphus Hanson, *Old Kent* . . . (Baltimore, 1876), pp. 377-378.

[3] Hanson, pp. 376-378.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 236, 239.

[5] "Washington College," *loc. cit.* Frederick Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland* . . . (Baltimore, 1950), pp. 172-173.

## John Wethered

The owner of the "Bottom" containing the cargo of flour, and "By Favor" of whom this letter was delivered to "Thomas Smyth Esq." at the date of the letter had an Aunt Sarah Harding living in Boston. In 1774 his first son Peregrine was born in her home in Boston. It is clear from this why he was in favor of aiding "The New England Forces." Also the route proposed—out of the Virginia Capes and up the coast to New London—indicates the vessel was large enough for an ocean voyage.

John Wethered's daughter Clementina Matilda who grew up at "Drayton" her home on Churn Creek in Kent County, Maryland, married George Jeffries of nearby Portsmouth, New Hampshire and her father's letters show he frequently travelled from Maryland to Portsmouth for visits with her family—especially to escape Maryland's hot weather.

According to the entry in his Bible by her Father John Wethered she "married George Jeffry (Eldest son of Doct[r] John Jeffries) who changed his name to inherit an estate in Portsmouth. He was married in Jamaica Plains near Boston by the Rev. Dr. Gardman on the 21st September A. D. 1815." [6]

[1] *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, May 26, 1951, p. 673.

# REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*The Inevitable Success: Herbert R. O'Conor.* By HARRY W. KIRWIN. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1962. xiv, 580. $6.75.

Herbert R. O'Conor was an ambitious, personable third-generation Irish Catholic who was desperately eager to be governor of Maryland, and that, according to Professor Kirwin, made it inevitable. After an average record at Loyola College and the University of Maryland Law School, O'Conor began systematically climbing the political ladder in the Democratic Party, becoming State's Attorney in Baltimore in 1923, and Attorney General in 1934. He performed his duties efficiently, cultivated political friends, avoided taking stands whenever possible on controversial issues, and sure enough was elected governor in 1938 and relected in 1942.

Consciously modeling his administrations after the much admired Albert C. Ritchie, O'Conor in office embraced the twin principles of efficiency and economy. He worked to reform the courts, streamline the legislative process, pay off the State debt, and lower taxes. Although persuaded to expand the public school system, he vigorously opposed other kinds of "welfare" legislation, and he was particularly eager to prevent organized labor from taking advantage of the wartime scarcity of workers. O'Conor was never afraid of platitudes, however, and most of all he spent the governorship campaigning in favor of an allied victory in World War II. In 1946, after two terms in Annapolis, he convinced the State that his record qualified him for the United States Senate.

The Senate was in full revolt again President Truman's Fair Deal, and O'Conor quickly joined the Southern Democrats and Republicans who were fearful of government spending, labor unions, immigration, and especially of subversion. He admired Senator Joseph McCarthy, and Senator Pat McCurran became his closest Senate friend. Always a desperately hard and dedicated worker, he was especially energetic serving on anti-crime and anti-subversive investigating committees. He retired from the Senate in 1952, and worked to obtain American Bar Association censure of the Supreme Court. He died in 1960, age 63.

This is the most important book that has yet appeared on Mary-

land politics in the Twentieth Century. The scholarship is massive and the subject emerges through detail with fine clarity. The book's importance makes its faults all the more lamentable. Chief of these is the lack of State history as a background to the biography of one of its leading citizens. The author seldom looks into the camp of the Republicans or liberal Democrats who opposed O'Conor, with the result that he is dealing with specific issues and personalities rather than with basic forces in the State. In analyzing election returns, for example, the author is careful to "give full credit" to groups who voted for O'Conor, but he seldom analyzes the components, much less seeks to understand, the groups who voted in opposition. The author's lucid style is marred by jarring clichés.

Professor Kirwin, Chairman of the History Department at Loyola, was a personal friend of O'Conor and is deeply sympathetic with his subject. He does not feel that it is terribly important that O'Conor "was not intellectually inclined" (p. 555), or that in choosing issues "he had no intention of getting too far ahead of the average citizen" (p. 300). Professor Kirwin is more concerned with "fundamental morality," and apparently thinking of O'Conor's hard work, good intention and personal righteousness, calls him "a paragon of virtue" (p. 71) and "the essence of everything good" (p. 559). That's the trouble with moral judgments in history writing; people's standards are so different. Some will require their statesmen to have understanding as well as good intention, and to be right as well as righteous.

George H. Callcott

*University of Maryland*

*The Papers of James Madison. Volume I, 1751-1779.* Edited by William T. Hutchison and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago; The University of Chicago Press, 1962. xlii, 344. $10.

*The Papers of James Madison. Volume II, 1780-1781.* Edited by William T. Hutchison and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago; The University of Chicago Press, 1962. xix, 344. $10.

James Madison now joins the early American statesmen—Jefferson, Franklin, Hamilton, the Adamses, Clay, and Calhoun—whose papers are being published in full and edited with impeccable scholarship. Until now we have had four old and very limited editions of our fourth president's writings, which comprise only

about one-sixth of his papers. The last was Gaillard Hunt's nine-volume edition that appeared between 1900 and 1910. The present edition will include virtually all of the approximately 7000 papers written by Madison and those from around 15,000 extant letters sent to him which received his "careful attention." The editors have gathered Madison items in about 250 different locations, but they come chiefly from the largest collection (11,000 manuscripts written to or by him) at the Library of Congress. Surely this is an enterprise that places us in debt to a group of distinguished scholars and librarians at the universities of Chicago and Virginia and at the Virginia Historical Society who are taking up a long and important task, to the late Leonard D. White of Chicago, Chief Editor of the project in its decisive and planning stages, and to Julian P. Boyd whose superb edition of the Jefferson Papers is a model well followed by Madison's editors.

Covering the first 29 years of Madison's life, Volume One brings light to bear first upon his studies and friendships at Princeton, particularly in his correspondence with William Bradford of Philadelphia who became our second attorney-general. Madison's class was 1771, a time when Princeton Commencement oratory was, in Irving Brant's phrase, "a living part of the Revolution itself." In his Commonplace Book Madison early indicates some philosophical and literary sources he was to draw upon skillfully and enduringly when framing and defending the Constitution. We well know the impression made upon the minds of the Founding Fathers by Locke and Montesquieu, but here too are Jemmy's copies of the maxims and epigrams of Cardinal de Retz and the Abbe de Bos. In his collegiate doggerel he is hardly the sobersides remembered by Princeton's President Witherspoon. He was seeking guidelines for a prudent and sociable approach to life. Yet he was not averse to pursuing subtleties of argument concerning free will with his tutor and friend, Samuel Stanhope Smith, whose two philosophical letters are only a foretaste of hitherto unpublished manuscripts sent to Madison by eminent and interesting Americans, which will be printed in this series.

Midway in the first volume, in 1774-75, Madison emerges as a public man. He becomes a member of his father's Orange County Committee of Safety, then in 1776 he goes to Williamsburg to begin his long service to state and nation. Revealing his attitude toward the growing theme of independence are the several documents that show how central to his thinking was the "sacred right" of religious liberty. To George Mason's Declaration of Rights Madison brought the phrase "free exercise of religion," a small triumph then for the

liberal Virginia legislative minority that ten years later won full victory.

The second volume encompasses only Madison's thirtieth year; but what a year it was. He entered the Continental Congress, served on the Board of Admiralty, and led in congressional discussions of finances, the trans-Allegheny West and the rights of Americans on the Mississippi. Well-established here is the foresight that enabled Madison and others to overcome interstate rivalries for western lands, jealousies that delayed ratification of the Articles of Confederation and effective waging of war. Aided by meticulous annotations and a good index, the reader of these papers can inspect the initially creaky machinery of our new government through the record of one who worked nobly to improve it.

WILSON SMITH

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*The Scotch-Irish: A Social History.* By JAMES G. LEYBURN. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1962. xix, 377. $7.

Between 1717 and 1775 five great waves of emigration brought an estimated quarter of a million Ulstermen from Northern Ireland to the American colonies. Despite the significance of these emigrants to colonial America, especially to the Middle Colonies and the South, specific information on their background or on their adjustment to America is often hard to find. *The Scotch-Irish* is therefore particularly welcome as a general study of the Scotch-Irish before and during their move to America. The author, Professor of Sociology at Washington and Lee University, has divided his discussion into three major sections to examine the Scotch-Irish first in the Lowlands of Scotland during the 16th century, second on the Ulster Plantation of Northern Ireland in the 17th century, and third in the American colonies during the 18th century. Each section contains a brief narrative of political and economic developments but the main emphasis of the author falls on a description of social structure and acculturation and an analysis of national character and temperament.

Almost half of this book is devoted to the Scotch-Irish in Scotland and Ireland. This material is not only interesting of itself; it also enables the author to draw instructive parallels between their experiences in three countries. The harshness of farming in Scotland in the 16th century, for instance, accounts for much of the success

Scottish emigrants had in dealing with the privations of pioneering both in Ulster and the New World. The opposition to political absolutism that showed in the colonies had already been nurtured by Calvinist doctrine and persecution in Scotland and Ireland.

Particularly influential on the Scotch-Irish throughout their travels was the Presbyterian religion, the challenge of which in the 16th century forcibly pulled them "from barbarism to civilization," gave them a strong sense of national identity, and imposed discipline and a somewhat puritannical morality on traditional Scottish independence and pride. Presbyterian influence on Scots settled in Ulster remained strong and only the move to America, bringing the insurmountable problems of widely separated congregations and too few educated clergy, led to the weakening of the Presbyterian hold on the Scotch-Irish of the frontier.

One of the strengths of this book lies in the use of the methodology and concepts of sociology to analyse historical material. Historians may grow uncomfortable at the search for national character a la Ruth Benedict, but they will benefit from many observations on social structure and acculturation and from the types of questions asked and answers given about an emigrant group. The author believes, for example, that the Scots after three generations in Ireland were, in loyalties and temperament Scotch-Irish, not Scots living in Ireland; and after sixty years in the American colonies under conditions exceptionally favorable to assimilation, were "full Americans." While essaying certain generalizations about group outlook and character, he takes hearty exception to the hoary myth of the Scotch-Irish as the hard-fighting, hard-drinking, freedom loving frontiersmen of the 18th century, pointing out the many variations in pattern of settlement, living, and behavior within the Scotch-Irish group.

This book shows clearly the usefulness of an interdisciplinary approach to social history; unfortunately it also shows its weaknesses. The author himself notes in the Introduction that a sociologist writing a social history runs the risk of criticism from specialized historians, and there is much about the selection and interpretation of material with which historians will take issue. It is also a pity that the author felt he had to spend so much time disproving the extravagant and by now outmoded claims of Scotch-Irish admirers of the turn of the century. On a lesser note, this reviewer found fault with the American maps which were neither clear nor suitable to the text, and with the supplementary footnotes whose level of style, depth, and relevance varied in a distressing and distracting manner.

RHODA M. DORSEY

*Goucher College*

*The South in the New Nation, 1789-1819.* By THOMAS P. ABERNETHY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. xvi, 529. $7.50.

Those who have read Professor Abernethy's previous books will recognize his touch in this volume of the *History of the South* series. He has spent a virtual lifetime of research, most of it in the history of the trans-Alleghany West, and there is no one else who knows as much about the early settlement of the Southwest, the politics of land acquisition, the conspiracies of would-be empire builders like Aaron Burr and James Wilkinson, and the intricate diplomacy of the United States, Britain, and Spain in their struggle for the interior of the continent.

It is a fault of Professor Abernethy that although he writes in a straightforward and attractive literary style the narrative is spelled out in unremitting detail, often without strict relevance to a point or, apparently at least, a clear line of organization. It is also a fault, at least in a work that presumably should represent the broad development of the South that his special interests should be unduly prominent. Ten out of sixteen chapters are specifically on the West or the frontier and the subject figures largely in the others. It may be arguable that western expansion was the overshadowing fact in the South's development during this period, but it is nonetheless disappointing that other subjects are not given a more systematic treatment. Professor Abernethy has some very provocative things to say about the economic basis of Southern politics, and he is obviously a firm believer in the efficacy of economic motive, but his contributions are made in passing, without attempt at a general formulation of political development within the southern states or the South's position in the nation. In spite of his penchant for economic interpretation, he does not present a survey of economic or social changes, nor does he pay any particular attention to intellectual matters.

Considered not in terms of what it may omit but for its positive values, however, this book has some magnificent sections. It probably has the last word to say as to Aaron Burr's guilt or innocence; boiling down the evidence published in his previous book on the Burr conspiracy, Professor Abernethy deems him guilty of treasonous intent, although apprehended before he could commit an overtly treasonous act. The chapters on the Yazoo scandal are a fascinating description of the advance of land speculators and settlers in the Southwest. The local aspects of this speculator's bubble, which became a national issue and the subject of one of John Marshall's

famous decisions, have never been presented in such full and arresting detail. There are several valuable maps showing the domains of various land companies and the regions of the earliest settlement. But what will probably stir readers the most is the superb narrative of the Battle of New Orleans. The combat is unfolded step by step in the context of the whole strategy of the American defense of the Southwest. In terms of the military elements with which he had to deal, Jackson was a masterly strategist, and the battle itself is given a new significance. Since it occurred after the signing of the peace treaty it has always been regarded as having no effect upon the outcome of the war. But Abernethy says the treaty was considered merely tentative by the British ministry and if Pakenham had won the British intended to force territorial concessions, including the loss of the Louisiana Territory, upon the United States. Thus the battle of New Orleans emerges as one of the decisive victories of the war.

E. James Ferguson

*University of Maryland*

*The Twilight of Federalism. The Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815-1830.* By Shaw Livermore, Jr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962. x, 292. $6.

The case of the vanishing Federalists is investigated and punctured by Shaw Livermore, Jr. Tracing the careers of leading Federalists in New England and the Middle States, the author concludes that they have been consigned an early grave. The supposedly bland era of good feelings is depicted as a cauldron of political pyrotechnics thinly veiled by the "syrupy overlay" of the Monroe administration. Indeed, *The Twilight of Federalism* when examined by Professor Livermore becomes almost an aurora borealis.

The very completeness of the Republican victory and the subsequent fracturing of party leadership in the struggle for place and power helped to keep the Federalist influence alive. The overt and covert Republican wooing of their ancient antagonists coincided with the Federalists delight that "the Administration have fought themselves completely on to a federal ground." As President Monroe talked of harmony and "one great family with a common interest" all seemed opportune for a feud-ending marriage.

Yet, while the Republicans realized the advantages of some Federalist support, they also saw the danger of too obvious an

alliance in a period of tough intra-party rivalry. The ambivalence of their position was maddening. The author's discussion of the confused New York situation exemplifies this. Here the split between Clinton and Van Buren factions brought the Federalists into prominence as a balance of power. Van Buren's supporters cried "unholy alliance" of the Clinton-Federalist forces, yet at the same time the Little Magician realized that he needed Federalist votes to defeat Clinton. His masterpiece of political derring-do and rationalization was his support of old line Federalist Rufus King for a Senate seat while continuing to tar Clinton with the damning epithet of Federalist.

While the New York Republicans fought this battle of semantics and vied at quietly courting and condemning the Federalists, the Federalists had to walk a tightrope of their own. Convinced that they were by birth, talent and dedication fitted for political office and seeking to end their proscription from office they wanted to back the right candidate. Yet if they overtly supported Clinton, his Republican followers would desert and leave the Federalists once again isolated.

On the national scene, the elections of 1824 and 1828 best illustrate the continuing influence of the Federalists. "A beautifully wrought maneuver put John Quincy Adams into the White House," contends the author. This maneuver was not the Clay-Adams alliance but the political machinations of Webster in winning the Federalists of the key states of Maryland and New York to the Adams ticket. All of the Republican candidates, Crawford, Clay, Calhoun, Jackson and Adams are described as flirting to some degree with the Federalists. And Adams' election is attributed to his ability through Webster, to convince the Federalists that they would find positions of honor in his administration. His subsequent failure to hold Federalist backing is given as a major reason for his setback in 1828.

Professor Livermore's monograph is a needed interpretive study of a complex and unique period of apparent one-party politics. His conclusions will perhaps be challenged as too sweeping. At times the Federalists seem almost the dominant power. Unfortunately there is an uneven treatment of state politics. Broad research into the correspondence of New York and Massachusetts figures is not balanced by thorough investigation of sources in Maryland and Delaware. The papers of Carroll, Smith, Wirt, Harper, Taney, and Hanson in the Maryland Historical Society would perhaps have strengthened his comments on Free State matters.

DOROTHY M. BROWN

*College of Notre Dame of Maryland*

*The Letters of Stephen A. Douglas.* Edited by ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1961. xxxi, 558. $10.

This valuable documentary publication represents another giant step in the direction of Stephen A. Douglas' historical rehabilitation, a project begun a generation ago. As the principal foil of historians who viewed the 1850's as little more than a vehicle for Lincoln's rise to greatness, the importance of Douglas was slighted and his mistakes magnified. So far had he been downgraded, that his defenders, led by the great forensic historian of the 1930's, George Fort Milton, felt compelled to reply with exaggerated praise. Now, with Douglas' private words part of the historical preserve we are entitled to more balanced accounts of the Little Giant's stature. In addition to this contribution, the editor, Professor Robert W. Johannsen of the University of Illinois, promises us a Douglas biography. We all hope it will further rescue the man from the realm of the lawyer's brief and make him the object of dispassionate analysis.

Documentary publication projects, sparked by the formation of the National Historical Publications Commission, have lately become an integral part of American historical scholarship. Most of them—the Papers of Jefferson, and Clay, for example—strive for comprehensiveness, but this volume of Douglas letters runs against the current tide. It includes no incoming correspondence. Prof. Johannsen explains the decision to restrict in terms of space availability (apparently no foundations volunteered to underwrite a multi-volume series), and the fact that Douglas' letters received are largely in one accessible spot, the University of Chicago Library.

With space thus limited, the publication of many trivial Douglas items is questionable. Take an entry of February, 1849: "Senator Douglas presents his complements to Mrs Young and will be happy to take her & her daughter to Mr R. J. Walkers tonight, if convenient and agreeable to her. P. S. I will call with a carriage at 9 oclock." The general reader, even the American history addict, will be permitted a yawn while he reads this and many similar items. A judicious selection of some of the most significant incoming letters would have proved more valuable. In terms of scholarly needs, availability of funds, and actual use of the end product, it appears to me that the luxury of "comprehensiveness" might be tamed through selective publication, both incoming and outgoing, supplemented by a complete microfilm edition for use by scholars.

FRANK OTTO GATELL

*University of Maryland*

*Travels in The New South, A Bibliography.* (Volume One: The Postwar South 1865-1900; Volume Two: Twentieth-Century South, 1900-1955). Edited by THOMAS D. CLARK. Norman Okla.; University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. Vol. I. xvi, 267. Vol. II. xiii, 301. $20 the set.

The phraseology may be trite, but it is not platitudinous to say that these volumes are indispensable to students of the New South and that Southern historians will be deeply indebted to their compilers. The 1135 listings cover a broad range of time (from 1865 to 1955), space (the eleven ex-Confederate states plus Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, and the District of Columbia), and subject matter (from culinary explorations to sociological inquiries). Each volume is divided into two sections. The first consists of "The South in Reconstruction, 1865-1880," by Fletcher M. Green, and "The New South, 1880-1900," by Thomas D. Clark. The second includes "The Twentieth-Century South as Viewed by English-speaking Travelers, 1900-1955, by Rupert B. Vance, and "Foreign-Language Accounts by Travelers in the Southern States, 1900-1955," by Lawrence S. Thompson.

Entries are limited to accounts published in book form, but within that limitation the compilers sought to include every travel account they could find, ranging from the excellent and informative to some that "border on being trash." And "travel account" was broadly defined to include representative guides, directories, surveys, and promotional materials, as well as many travels that touched the South only briefly. Each entry is accompanied by full bibliographical information, including a statement of the book's inclusive dates, successive editions, and the location of one copy. It is difficult to imagine any major research project in Southern history since the Civil War that would not benefit from reference to these lists.

Happily, there is something here for the casual reader, too. Each of the volumes has at the beginning a preface by the overall editor and each section an introduction by the compiler. In these the reader will find interesting and thought-provoking essays on general trends in travel accounts that parallel the contemporary trends of Southern history. Accounts of the Reconstruction period ran heavily to social and political observation, while those after 1880 tended more toward promotional materials for industry, agriculture, immigration, and tourism, with a decline of "comment by roving reformists." Once the twentieth century South reappeared on the "Grand Tour" social, political, and economic commentary recurred in great quantity, emphasizing the theme of change, and the

number of foreign-language accounts multiplied so greatly that a special section is devoted to accounts in most of the European languages. Furthemore, each entry is followed by a brief description, ranging from a paragraph to a page and a half in length. These little vignettes constitute in themselves not only valuable research tools (they are fully indexed) but they are so well done that the volumes found their way to this reviewer's bedside table.

These volumes are sequels to the three volumes on travels in the Old South, also edited by Thomas D. Clark, and the volume on travels in the Confederacy, edited by E. Merton Coulter. They constitute the happy consummation of a major project.

GEORGE B. TINDALL

*University of North Carolina*

*William Shirley: King's Governor of Massachusetts.* By JOHN A. SCHUTZ. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg). vii, 292. $6.

This work by Professor Schutz of Whittier College is not a biography of a man but an anatomy of a successful administration. In 1756, the Massachusetts General Court paid tribute to the departing Governor William Shirley in words which the author of this study has suggested might also serve as the Governor's epitaph: "The affairs of this Province have been so wisely conducted by your Excellency that your name ought to be ever dear to the inhabitants." The suggestion is a legitimate one; few royal governors could boast of an equally solicitous attitude on the part of their legislatures. That Shirley had governed successfully a colony which was shortly to become the hotbed of reactionary sentiment toward British imperial rule is, perhaps, a further tribute to his administrative talents. At the same time, this apparently sincere tribute to a good governor—and all things considered, Shirley was that—assumes a somewhat platitudinous coloring when it is recalled, as Professor Shutz does here, that Shirley's administration was often marked by disturbances of one sort or another which must be considered crises of the first water.

Some of these disturbances, perhaps most of them, were strictly local in nature; but there were present symptoms of discontent which were to rumble on into open defection within two decades of Shirley's departure from the colony. In this sense, his administra-

tion is typical of the period. But his handing of these problems was not typical. An astute politician, Shirley used tools with which he was most familiar: patronage, preferment, and unashamed nepotism to mitigate bothersome situations. And he more oten than not used them wisely and cautiously. He was, in addition, a born compromiser in a position where compromise was often necessary.

As Professor Schutz's subtitle suggests, Shirley was very much the King's Governor. Although his attempts at currency reform (a problem endemic to this colony particularly) were common sense efforts to keep his political and economic supporters happy, Shirley realized that the home government in England was desirous of such reforms. As to his views on the imperial relationship between the colonies and the mother country, they were strictly in keeping with those entertained by most British statesmen of the period. The author assures us that Shirley indeed would have been "shocked by the idea that the colonies could revolt against the mother country." In all fairness, however, the governor did recognize the need for alterations in the imperial structure, perhaps a more flexible plan of colonial government. Beyond that, he apparently would not go.

Although they are of vital importance to the author's purpose, the perplexities and vicissitudes within the rival political camps during Shirley's fifteen year administration make for somewhat tedious reading. Even so, one is struck by the comparative stability of political alignment during this long period, a stability due mostly to the wise manipulations of Shirley.

The best part of this work concerns Shirley's military career. This facet of his career cannot, of course, be separated from that of the executive; one is concomitant upon the other. As a lawyer, military operations did not come easy to Shirley and he was often forced to delegate field commands to others. Thus William Pepperell and British Commodore Warren receive most of the accolades for the suprisingly successful Louisbourg campaign. The awards, however, became somewhat academic when that prize was returned to France as a result of the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle. The abortive Canadian campaigns and the Niagara campaign, the latter the northern arm of the disasterous Braddock pincer movement against Fort Duquesne is 1755, bog down in a miasma of confusion and petty vindictiveness. But military operations, whether limited to colonial defense or positive and energetic movements against the enemy, meant a lucrative business for those elements in Massachusetts whom Shirley was anxious to keep in line. And, as Professor Schutz has pointed out, it was often difficult to distinguish the politician from the

imperialist in Shirley; the two were not incompatible in any case, as his administration indicates.

The manner of patronage politics as engaged in by William Shirley is the least attractive side of the man's character; but it was the only road to advancement. In the personal politics of 18th century Britain, it was practiced on all levels, from George II and William Pitt on down to the lowliest customs officer. Like Pitt, Shirley had a unique talent for the game and in this he was ably assisted by his purposeful wife, Frances.

In a crisp bibliographical essay, Professor Schutz justifies the need for the present study of Governor Shirley. Death halted the proposed second volume of George Arthur Wood's *William Shirley: Governor of Massachusetts, 1741-1756.* Using new sources opened up since Wood's study, which was published in 1920, Professor Schutz's aim here is to analyze Shirley's career as a successful Anglo-American governor. No doubt the work is needed. Most of the colonial governors have not been treated kindly by American historians and, although some probably deserve such treatment, others do not. Shirley is one of the latter. The sources used by Professor Schutz are impressive and exhaustive; and for this reason it is regretted that the author was unable to breath life into his subject. Within the confines of the scope of this study set down in the author's preface, he has indeed accomplished his purpose, but Shirley remains an amorphous being.

ALBERT ABBOTT

*Fairfield University*

*The Poems of Charles Hansford.* Edited by JAMES A. SERVIES and CARL R. DOLMETSCH. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press (for the Virginia Historical Society), 1961. xlv, 95 pp. $5.

Charles Hansford—c. 1685-1761—was a blacksmith of York County, Virginia. His friend Benjamin Waller, who left us a short biography, says that Hansford "worked at his trade as long as his strength would permit. . . . He once kept a school, but was a man of little education."

He had picked up, however, more than a little learning. "Let us admit at the outset," with his present editors, "that these curious verses of Charles Hansford's are not great poetry." (They aren't too bad, either. They scan. They make sense.) But the poems do show that he had read Pope and the Bible; that he knew which of

the Fates cut the thread; and that he had dipped into translations, at least, of both Tully and Virgil. The conventional but utterly correct sentiments of the poems "Barzillai," "Of Body and of Soul," and "Some Reflections of My Past Life" do him credit, while the longest poem, "My Country's Worth," shows a commendable grasp of current politics. This is part of the book most interesting to most of us. Changing the site of Virginia's capital was being contemplated at the time Hansford wrote "My Country's Worth," and he set forth not only the issues but some of the personalities involved. With the editors' able preface, introduction, and chapter notes (no index, though), Charles Hansford's four long poems make a book that is thoroughly unimportant but very nice to have.

ELLEN HART SMITH

*Owensboro, Ky.*

*Ancestry of Ralph Carmalt Wilson of Dover, Delaware.* By GEORGE VALENTINE MASSEY II. Published by the author, 1961. 82.

This genealogy of an American of pre-revolutionary stock by a well known genealogist was very interesting to this reviewer. Mr. Wilson is descended from families which lived, respectively, in Talbot and Kent counties, Maryland (Wilson), in southern Delaware, in Chester County, Bucks County and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and northern New Jersey. This ancestry is predominantly English, as was to be expected, but includes more or less remote strains of Irish, Welsh and Dutch (Tyson). The form of presentation might well be copied by amateur genealogists.

WILLIAM B. MARYE

*Baltimore, Md.*

# BOOKS RECEIVED

*The Pageant of The Press: A Survey of 125 Years of Iowa Journalism 1836-1961.* By WILLIAM J. PETERSEN. Iowa City, Iowa; The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1962. x, 120. $6 paper, $7.50 hard bound.

*Soldiers' Battle; Gettysburg.* By JAMES WARNER BELLAH. New York; David McKay Company, Inc., 1962. x, 204. $4.50.

*Halleck; Lincoln's Chief of Staff.* By STEPHEN E. AMBROSE. Baton Rouge, La.; Louisiana State University Press, 1962. vi, 226. $5.

*Brides From Bridewell: Female Felons Sent to Colonial America.* By WALTER HART BLUMENTHAL. Rutland, Vt.; Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1962. 139. $3.

*Fenollosa and His Circle With Other Essays in Biography.* By VAN WYCK BROOKS. New York; E. P. Dutton Co., 1962. vii, 327. $5.

*Swallow Barn.* By JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY. Introduction and Notes by WILLIAM S. OSBORNE. New York; Hafner Publishing Company, 1962. iv, 506. Paper Reprint $2.75.

*Concise Dictionary of American History.* Edited by THOMAS C. COCHRAN and WAYNE ANDREWS. New York; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962. viii, 1156. $19.50.

*Roosevelt and Howe.* By ALFRED B. COLLINS, JR. New York; Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1962. xxviii, 479. $5.

# NOTES AND QUERIES

*Index to Magazine*—By virtue of an appropriation of the State Board of Public Works, the preparation of an analytical index of the first 55 volumes of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* began October 1st. The grant was made in response to requests from school and public libraries throughout the State. Dr. Thomas G. Pullen, Superintendent of the State Board of Education, former Senator George L. Radcliffe, President of the Society, and the late James W. Foster presented the request, with the firm support of Dr. Morris L. Radoff, State Archivist.

Employed for the undertaking has been Miss Betty Adler, complier, with the assistance of Miss Jane Wilhelm, of the recently published *H. L. M.: the Mencken Bibliography*. The staff of the Maryland Room of the Enoch Pratt Free Library is rendering welcome cooperation, and Mr. John D. Kilbourne, Assistant to the Director—Library and Archives, is directing the project.

Publication of the completed index in book form, although hoped for, is not foreseen at this time. However, the card file will be available for consultation and reproduction by other libraries.

---

*Maryland History Awards of Merit*—For some years the American Association for State and Local History has presented Annual Awards of Merit to authors, historical societies, corporations, radio and television stations, and, less often, to individuals who have made exceptional contributions in the field of local history. For 1962, recommendations in four categories were made for Maryland, each of which was honored with an award.

The Potomac Edison Company, Hagerstown, was cited "for outstanding accomplishment in furthering appreciation of the historical values of a region in relation to the heritage of the whole nation."

The Historical Society of Talbot County, Easton, was recognized "for assuming vigorous leadership in the coordination of community and regional activities to further awareness of the values of local history in a unique area." Third, Dr. Philip M. Hamer, of Bethesda, was honored for his valuable compilation, *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the U.S.*

Mr. James W. Foster, late Director of this Society, was cited for "dedicated, scholarly, and untiring accomplishment over a period of 20 years in making available to wider areas of the community the resources of the Maryland Historical Society."—*Maryland Historical Notes,* November, 1962.

---

*Archaeology Sheds New Light on American Glass*—The discovery of an important early American industrial building has just been announced by the joint Corning Museum of Glass-Smithsonian Institution Archeological team which has been investigating the site of the 18th-century New Bremen Glass Manufactory of John Frederick Amelung, south of Frederick, Maryland.

The factory which was founded in 1785 remained in operation until 1795. During this short span it produced the most sophisticated glass made in America until the Industrial Revolution. Among the finest pieces of Amelung glass preserved today are the famed New Bremen Pokal at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Tobias and the Angel Flip at the Corning Museum in Corning Glass Center, and the Schley Pokal at the Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware.

According to P. N. Perrot, Director of The Corning Museum of Glass and Administrative Director of the excavation, the excavation was conducted "to shed new light on one of America's most distinguished 18th-century manufactories. The John Frederick Amelung factory is significant not only for the high quality of its output but for the impact it had on other areas of glass making which were developed by glass workers who had worked in New Bremen and later moved west. In addition the factory site is precisely dated inasmuch as the area taken over by Amelung in 1784 was entirely rural prior to his coming, thus giving the relative assurance that the bulk of the material found would be of local manufacture." "Until now, Mr. Perrot continued, no 18th-century glass making site has been professionally excavated and we only have uncertain evidence as to the types of furnaces used and ancillary buildings required. So as to assure the most careful and scholarly dig possible Mr. I. Noel Hume, Chief Archeologist of Colonial Williamsburg, was prevailed upon to become the archeological director of the expedition. He was assisted by Mrs. Noel Hume.

The building uncovered, according to Mr. Noel Hume, was found in an area which was expected to reveal a "dump site." Instead we discovered a mammoth, very complex structure over 52' by 43' in size, built of walls up to three feet thick in carefully laid

stone construction. The full significance of the structure will only be revealed by a more thorough study of the floor plan and of 18th century technical literature. Its size and heavy masonry, however indicate that it was one of the major buildings of the settlement which by Amelung's own figures exceeded 30 units. "The building and surrounding structures were constructed after the first factory started operations as fragments of glass and furnace parts were found ultimately bonded to their fabric." "Accordingly a dating after 1787 is possible. We know that Amelung suffered repeated fire losses which would have required additional constructions."

Among the important features uncovered by the excavators are a group of large window glass fragments found under a heavy burned layer, fragments of furnaces, crucibles, clay pipes, pewter belt buckles, as well as large quantities of glass fragments some in the form of recognizable objects in clear, amethyst, green and blue. Only future study and scientific analysis will determine whether these were produced at the Amelung factory. However in the affirmative they will be important clues in permitting a clearer evaluation of the factory's output and permitting a reattribution of objects similar in color and design scattered among many public and private collections.

In addition to Messrs. Perrot and Noel Hume the following persons have participated in the excavation: Messrs. Malcolm Watkins, John Pearce, Richard Muzzrole, Robert Elder and Anthony Hathaway, all of the Smithsonian Institution, and Messrs. Robert Brill, Michael Milkovich, Adrian Baer, Raymond Errett and Mrs. Paul Perrot of the Corning Museum of Glass. Mr. Kenneth Wilson, Curator of Old Sturbridge Village came specially to Frederick to offer his help. "We have already uncovered significant evidence on the early history of one of our most important glass factories," said Mr. Perrot. "The area dealt with this year is only a small fraction of the total site which according to present calculation extends at least 550' in length. We hope however next year to call upon the skill and enthusiasm of the same team led by Mr. Noel Hume and explore other areas of the site more thoroughly—and in this we have been assured of the continued support of the owners of the site Mr. Charles Smith and Mr. Vernon Yingling as well as of Prof. and Mrs. William R. Quynn the present owners, of Amelung house. In the meantime the area uncovered will be protected by a covering structure which will shield it from the elements as well as from eager souvenir hunters, who

in their zeal might unwittingly destroy an important page in the evaluation of what became one of our greatest industries."—Corning Glass Museum, Corning, N. Y.

The *Magazine* has published the following articles on Amelung: September, 1948, Dorothy M. Quynn, "Johann Friederich Amelung at New Bremen," and March, 1952, Harriet N. Milford, "Amelung and His New Bremen Glass Wares." The first catalogued showing of Amelung's wares was conducted by the society in the spring of 1952.

---

*National Trust Schedules Conference on Historic Houses* — A two-week conference for historic museum associates, sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, will be conducted January 21 to February 1, 1963, at *Woodlawn Plantation*, Mt. Vernon, Va. Once part of George Washington's *Mount Vernon* estate, *Woodlawn* was his wedding gift to Nelly Custis, his wife's granddaughter, when she married his nephew, Lawrence Lewis, in 1799. It became a property of the National Trust in 1957.

The conference program, which is limited to 15 persons, is primarily designed to provide paid staff and volunteer workers of historic house museums and other history museums with an opportunity to discuss problems of museum function and administration. In addition to the sessions at *Woodlawn*, participants will also visit the Library of Congress; National Archives; White House; National Park Service and Smithsonian Institution Laboratories; *The Octagon*, headquarters of the American Institute of Architects; and Decatur House, another National Trust property, located across Lafayette Square from the White House. In nearby Virginia, they will make special tours of Alexandria, the Custis-Lee Mansion, *Gunston Hall* and *Mount Vernon*, and will also visit *Wakefield, Stratford, Kenmore,* the Mary Washington House and the James Monroe Law Office Museum and Memorial Library in Fredericksburg. On the weekend, the group will travel to Delaware and Pennsylvania to see Winterthur Museum, Ephrata Cloisters, and the Landis Valley Museum.

Members of the staff of the National Trust, the National Park Service, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Gallery of Art and other museum organizations in the Washington area will lead the discussions.

---

*Baltimore Reform League* — For a study of Baltimore politics and reform during the period from 1895 to 1911, I am looking

for material concerning the organization, membership and activities of the Baltimore Reform League.

James B. Croons
708 Gorsuch Ave.,
Baltimore 18, Md.

---

*Basford*—I seek information on George W. Basford and Anne (Elizabeth) Ridgely, m. ca., 16 July 1822, Frederick Co., Md., emigrated to Jeromesville, Ohio, October, 1824. He was born 23 December 1800 and died 3 March 1871 in Ohio.

Rev. Albert E. Myers
110 Rockport Cres., Richmond Hill
Ontario, Canada

---

*Holt*—Information is wanted regarding the ancestry and descendants of Stephen Holt, born 1819, place of birth unknown. Married Rose Ann (or Rosanna) Richardson November 15, 1837. She died between that date and February 17, 1847, when he married Rebecca Jane Banning. Both marriages took place in Dorchester Co., Md. (Cambridge or Church Creek). By his first wife he had a son, John Tristram Holt, born October 1, 1838, who became a ship's captain out of Baltimore where he died January 10, 1918. By the second marriage he had a son, William, born 1850, who later emigrated to Tom Green County, Texas. Both sons were born in Dorchester Co. Also, what relation was Stephen to Joseph Holt (born May 14, 1814), and who married Sarah Catherine Houlton in Baltimore in 1842, who died in that city July 12, 1885? Information is also wanted as to the whereabouts of a Bible from the ship *David Stewart*, last known to be in possession of Masters, Mates and Pilots Assn., when they moved to their new quarters on East Baltimore Street in 1952.

John T. Holt
4507 Maple Ave., Halethorpe
Baltimore 27, Md.

---

*Chalmers*—Scharf's list of rebel prisoners (mostly Scots) transported in the ship *Good Speed* to Annapolis January 1716 (1717) after the rebellion at Preston, includes John Chambers (Scotch "Chalmers"), indented for seven years to Charles Digges. *The*

*Archives of Maryland,* XXV, quotes the following: "Protest taken from one of the rebels signed by John Chalmers." John Chalmers is shown as Church Warden St. Ann's Parish, Annapolis, 1743-44. He is mentioned as maintaining men of forces in 1746 and 1757 and advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* as "Bake-House" in Annapolis, 1747-48, and mentioned several times in Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll in the 1750's. James Chalmers, Sr. was an Annapolis silversmith in 1750 and was father of silversmiths John Chalmers, b. ca. 1750, and James Chalmers, Jr., b. 1762. Latter two were first Methodists in Annapolis. John is mentioned often in *Md. Archives* as Recruiting Officer Revolutionary War, was trustee of Cokesbury College in 1784, and Sheriff of Baltimore County in 1814. Both were local Methodist preachers in early Baltimore.

Are there any known sources of information on the period of life of John Chalmers while indented and soon thereafter? I want to prove that the prisoner was the father or grandfather of James Chalmers, Sr., the silversmith of Annapolis. Also, I would like to contact anyone having knowledge of this family in Baltimore after 1800.

Mrs. Harold H. Arnold
1129 Avant Ave., San Antonio 10, Tex.

---

*Lee*—I am anxious to get in touch with any descendants of Thomas Jefferson Lee. Born August 1808 in France, graduated West Point 1830, resigned from U. S. Army April 30, 1855. He was an engineer; commissioner on the part of Maryland, to retrace and mark the boundaries between Maryland and Virginia, 1858-60. He was resident of "Ellangowan," (later Texas) Md., after 1863.

John J. Pullen
Ayer Building, West Washington Square
Philadelphia 6, Pa.

*Hopkins*—Please contact the undersigned concerning any information about Thomas A. Hopkins, Esq., whose office was at 11 E. Lexington St., Baltimore, and who lived at 605 W. Lexington St. He was in Baltimore from the 1860's to 1889.

Ralph J. Hopkins
4755 Aldgate Green,
Baltimore 27, Md.

---

*FitzPatrick*—I am anxious to obtain the present address of Mrs. Nancy R. FitzPatrick who wrote on "Clifton" Majolica in the March, 1957, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

WILDEY C. RICKERSON
30 Rockefeller Plaza,
New York 20, N.Y.

---

## NOTICE

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS WHO WISH TO OBTAIN COPIES OF THE MAGAZINE INDEX FOR 1962 MUST APPLY IN WRITING BEFORE FEBRUARY 1, 1963.

---

## CONTRIBUTORS

S. Sydney Bradford is an historian of the National Park Service. He was formerly curator at the Morristown National Historical Park. He has written or edited several articles for this *Magazine* and the *Journal of Southern History*.

James High is Assistant Professor of Social Science at Santa Barbara College of the University of California.

A. Clarke Hagensick is Assistant Director of the Bureau of Government and Assistant Professor of Political Science of the University of Wisconsin, Extension Division at Milwaukee.

Frank J. Schwartz is an ichthyologist with the Chesapeake Biological Laboratory. He has published many scientific papers on fishes inhabiting Chesapeake Bay. James Green is Senior Technical Representative of the Naval Ordnance Test Laboratory, Solomons.

L. Wethered Barroll is a Baltimore attorney. In 1911, he contributed the article "Washington College, 1783" to this *Magazine*, VI (June), pp. 164-179.

# PUBLICATIONS

## *Studies in Maryland History*

His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland. By Donnell M. Owings. 1953 . . . . . $ 6.00

Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860. By Raphael Semmes. Illustrated. 1953 . . . . . $ 4.00

William Buckland, 1733-1774. By Rosamond R. Beirne and John H. Scarff. 1958 . . . . . $ 7.50

## *Texts and References for School Use*

My Maryland. By Kaessmann, Manakee and Wheeler. History of Maryland, revised edition. 1955 . . . . . $ 3.15

The Star Spangled Banner. Illustrated Booklet. Description of the writing of our national anthem by Francis Scott Key . . . . $ .50

Indians of Early Maryland. By Harold R. Manakee. 1959 . . $ 1.80

Maryland in the Civil War. By Harold R. Manakee. 1961 . . $ 4.50

Early Explorations of the Chesapeake Bay. By Gilbert Byron. 1960 $ 1.00

Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History. (25 titles) . . . each $ .10

## *Miscellaneous*

The Maryland Press, 1777-1790. By Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938 . $ 4.00

Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers. By Elizabeth Merritt (mimeographed, paper covers). 1940 . . . . . $ 2.75

History of Queen Anne's County. By Frederic Emory. 1950 . . $ 7.50

Descendants of Richard and Elizabeth (Ewen) Talbot of West River. Ida M. Shirk, comp. 1927 . . . . . $15.00

Semmes and Kindred Families. By Harry Wright Newman. 1956 $10.00

The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. By James Bordley, Jr., M.D. 1962 . . . . . $10.00

The Regimental Colors of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland). By H. R. Manakee and Col. Roger S. Whiteford. 1959 . . . $ 2.00

## *World War II*

Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military Participation, 1950; Vol. II, Industry and Agriculture, 1951; Vol. III, Home Front Volunteer Services, 1958; Vol. IV, Gold Star Honor Roll, 1956. H. R. Manakee, comp. . . . . each $ 3.25

History of the 110th Field Artillery, with Sketches of Related Units. By Col. John P. Cooper, Jr. Illustrated. 1953 . . . $ 5.00

History of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Md. Regt.) . by James H. Fitzgerald Brewer. 1955 . . . . . $ 5.00


MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

201 W. Monument Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland


*Postage and tax, if applicable, extra.*

# INDEX TO VOLUME LVII

Names of authors and titles of pages and original documents printed in the *Magazine* are set in capitals. Titles of books reviewed or cited are set in italics.


Abbott, Albert, 287
Abbottstown, 141
Abernathy, Thomas P., *The South in the New Nation, 1789-1819,* 68; reviewed, 380-381
Academy of Sciences, Baltimore, 2
Acland, Lady Harriet, 292
  Major John D., 292
"Acton," Annapolis, 219
Adams, Abigail, Mrs. John, 153
  Charles Francis, 179
  Henry, 47
  Pres. John, 25, 150-154, 165, 179
  John Quincy, 153, 382
  family, 376
*The Adams Papers,* 152
Adams' School for Girls, 2
Adler, Betty, 390
  Cyrus, 11
*Adventure* (ship), 36
Agnew, Maj., 315
Aisquith Street, Baltimore, 1
*Akbar* (clipper), 278
Albany, N.Y., 291, 308, 309, 313, 318, 326, 328
Aldridge, Alfred Owen, 169
*Alexander Wilson, Naturalist and Pioneer,* by Robert Cantwell, *reviewed,* 56-58
Alexandria, Va., 107, 119, 121, 156, 393
Alger, Horatio, 339
Allegany County, 352
Allegany Turnpike Company, 128
Allein, Zechariah, 40
Allen, Rev. Ethan, 80, 211, 213, 218
Ambrose, Stephen E., *Halleck: Lincoln's Chief of Staff,* 389
Amelung, Johann Friedrich Magnus, 112
  John Frederick, 91, 97, 98, 110 ff., 391-392
  house, 392
"Amelung and His New Bremen Glass Wares," by Harriet N. Milford, 393
American Art Association, 154
American Association for State and Local History, 390-391
American Bar Association, 375
*American Classics,* 170
*American Heritage* (magazine), 73, 280
American Historical Association, 169
American Institute of Architects, 393
*American Land Companies,* by Shaw Livermore, 256
*American Ornithology,* by Alexander Wilson, 56
American Philosophical Society, 259
*The Amiable Baltimoreans,* by Francis F. Beirne, 175
The Anacostia Bridge Company, 130
Anacostia River, 131
Anburey, Thomas, 286, 292, 294, 295, 300, 302, 303, 308, 316, 317, 321, 324, 326, 329, 330
*Ancestry of Ralph Carmalt Wilson of Dover, Delaware,* by George Valentine Massey II, *reviewed,* 388
Anderson, Jas., 371, 372
Anderson Galleries, 154
Andrews, Matthew Page, 206, 358
Andrews, Wayne, Cochran, Thomas C. and editors, *Concise Dictionary of American History,* 389
"The Anglican Parish in Virginia," by William H. Seiler, 167
*Ann McKim* (ship), 62
*Annals of Baltimore,* by Thomas Griffith, 233
Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, 78-89, 106, 121, 124, 339, 348, 361, 371 ff., 394-395
Annapolis Paper War, 177-194
Anne Arundel County, 354, 356
*Annual Letter of the Jesuits,* 45
Antietam, 148, 155
Anti-Federalist Party, 195-209
*The Anti-Federalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781-88,* by Jackson Turner Main, 68
Appomattox C.H., Va., 273
Arcadia, Baltimore County, 71
*Architects in America of Catholic Tradition,* by Francis W. Kervick, 69
*Architectural Heritage of Evansville,* by Howard E. Wooden, 284

*An Architectural Study of Fort McHenry*, by Lee H. Nelson, *reviewed*, 65-66
*Archives of Maryland*, 395
Army of the Potomac, 133
Arnett, Mrs. Mahlon E., 72
Arnold, Benedict, 292, 311, 321-322, 327
Mrs. Harold H., 395
Ashland Avenue, Baltimore, 13
Association of the Tradesmen and Manufactures of the Town of Boston, 100
Aston, George, 341
Athearn, Robert G., 280
*Atlas of Baltimore Town from the Year 1801*, 212, 215 ff.
Aubrey, Capt. Thomas, 319, 320
Audubon, John James, 57
Auzouer, Countess of, 191
Avery, Elroy McK., 292, 293

Bacon, Thomas, 337, 338, 342
Bacon's Castle, Surrey Co., Va., 218
Bacon-Foster, Cora, 120
Baer, Adrian, 392
Bailey, Kenneth P., 341
Baird, Capt. John, 320
"Bake-House," Annapolis, 395
Bakeless, John, 308
Baldwin, Henry Du Pont, 71
Sanders, 189, 190
Baltimore, 106 ff., 124, 125, 127, 135 ff., 147, 150, 339, 348, 349, 360
*Baltimore: A Picture History*, by Francis F. Beirne, 175
*Baltimore American* (newspaper), 11
Baltimore and Frederick Turnpike Road, 128
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 50, 272
Baltimore and Reisterstown Turnpike, 128
Baltimore and York Turnpike, 128
Baltimore Association of Tradesmen and Manufacturers, 100 ff.
Baltimore Botany Club, 2
Baltimore City Branch Bank of the United States, 242
Baltimore Civic Center, 253
*Baltimore Clippers*, by Howard I. Chapelle, 62
Baltimore Committee of Health, 108
Baltimore Company, 340
Baltimore County, 349, 350
Baltimore County Historical Society, 280-282
Baltimore Equitable Society, 213, 220 ff., 234, 235
Baltimore *Evening Sun* (newspaper), 175
Baltimore Hebrew College, 5
Baltimore Insurance Fire Company, 229, 237 ff., 233, 236
Baltimore Museum of Art, 71
Baltimore National Bank, 245
Baltimore *News* (newspaper), 75
Baltimore Reform League, 393-394
*Baltimore Republican* (newspaper), 355
Baltimore Sons of Liberty, 188, 189
Baltimore *Sun* (newspaper), 8, 13, 73, 222
Baltimore Water Company, 232, 251 ff.
"Baltimorean," pseud., 203
Bank of Alexandria, 123
Bank of Baltimore, 237, 242 ff.
Bank of Columbia, 242, 243
Bank of Maryland, 231, 237, 240 ff., 255
Bank of the United States, 237, 241, 269
Bank Street, Baltimore, 13
Barber, Luke, 32, 33
Barker, Prof. Charles, 175, 178, 183, 186, 188
Barlow, Joel, 168
Barnard, Major, 301
Barnes, Brig. Gen. James, 141
Barney, Commodore Joshua, 368, 370
Baron, Stanley, *Brewed in America*, 172
Baroway, Solomon, 11
Barrington, Daniel, 188
Barrie, Capt. Robert, 368
Barroll, L. Wethered, 397
BARROLL, L. WETHERED, *A Cargo of Flour Presented in 1775 by the Provincial Convention of Maryland to the "Province of Massachuetts Bay,"* 371-374
Barry, C. J., 280
Bartlett, Col., 157
Bartram, John, 57
Basford, Ann Elizabeth (Ridgely), Mrs. George W., 394
George W., 394
Basle University, 31
Batchelder, Samuel F., 330
Bates College, 73
Batson and Company, 368
Batten-Kill, N.Y., 308, 309, 312 ff.
Baum, Lt. Col. Frederick, 309, 310
Baumgarten, Miss Fanny, 7
Baxter, James P., 286, 291 ff., 301, 303 ff., 315 ff., 319, 323 ff., 329
Bayard, James A., 58
Bearcroft, Lt. Richard, 320

Beard, Charles A., 165
Beatson, Robert A., 287
Beatty, Vincent F., S. J., 279
Beauregard, Pierre G. T., 273
Becker, Carl, 164
Beirne, Francis F., 60, 175, 284
BEIRNE, FRANCIS F., *Samuel Chase, "Disturber,"* 78-89
Rosamond R., Mrs. Francis F., 61
Bel Air, Harford County, 352
Belasco Theatre, Washington, D.C., 51
Bell, John, 52
Whitfield J., Jr., 286
William, 311
Bellah, James Warner, *Soldiers' Battle: Gettysburg,* 389
Bellevue Hospital, New York, 45
Bellot, Hugh Hale, 169
Beltsville, Prince George's County, 274
Bemis, Samuel F., 24
Bemis Heights, Battle of, 292, 207, 313, 315, 316, 321, 322
Bendann, Grace, 3, 7, 11, 12
Bendann Art Gallery, 213
Benedict, Ruth, 379
Benedict, Charles County, 369
Bennington, Vt., 308, 309, 311, 313, 325
Benson, Berry, 171
James, 32
Berkeley, Henry Robinson, 64
Berlin, Worcester County, 155, 156
Bickley, Ervin F., Jr., 174
Big Pipe Creek, 133, 135
Billington, Ray Allen, 340
Binks, George, 34
Binyon, Lt. Thomas, 159
*Bishop Walsh of Maryknoll: Prisoner of Red China,* by Ray Kerrison, *reviewed,* 278-279
Bladensburg, Prince George's County, 274
Blagden, G., 261
Blake, Capt., 312
Bland, Damaris Wyatt, Mrs. Thomas, 38
Thomas, 38
Blanton, Windham B., 31, 36, 39, 41, 42
Bligh, Capt., R. R., 369
Blount, Thomas, 27
Blum, Dr. Joseph, 11
Blumenthal, Walter Hart, *Brides from Bridewell,* 389
Bodine, A. Aubrey, *The Face of Maryland,* reviewed, 66-67
Bond, Phineas, 16, 17, 111
Books Received, 68, 172, 389
Books Reviewed, 56, 163, 268, 375
Boonsborough, Frederick Co., 130
Booz Brothers Shipyard, 62
Bordley, Mary (Clayton), Mrs. Stephen, Jr., 373
Stephen, 338
Rev. Stephen, 373
Stephen, Jr., 373
Thomas, 373
William, 371, 373
Born, Lester K., 154
Boston, Mass., 153, 288, 329, 330, 374
Boteler, Alexander R., 52
*Bottom* (ship), 371, 374
Bouldin, Augustus, 213, 221
Bouquet River, 294, 295
Boyd, Julian P., 377
Brackbill, Hervey, 67
Braddock, Gen. Edward, 386
Bradford, S. Sydney, 397
BRADFORD, S. SYDNEY, editor, *Lord Francis Napier's Journal of the Burgoyne Campaign,* 285-333
William, 25, 377
Branch Bank of the United States, 250
Brandywine, Battle of, 319
Brandywine River, 57
Bray, Thomas, 338
Brant, Irving, 377
Breck, Allen D., 280
Breckinridge, John C., 58
Brent, Robert, 260, 261, 264
*Brewed in America: The History of Beer and Ale in the United States,* by Stanley Bacon, 172
Brewington, Marion V., 62
Breyman, Lt. Col., Heinrich C., 293, 309, 310, 317, 322, 326
Brice, John, 180, 188, 190
John, Jr., 82, 181, 193
John, II, 177, 182, 189, 192
Bridenbaugh, Carl, *Seat of Empire,* 334
*Brides from Bridewell: Female Felons Sent to Colonial America,* by Walter Hart Blumenthal, 389
Brill, Robert, 392
Bristol, R. I., 290, 331 ff.
Broadsides: "Friends to Amendments," 206
"No Party," 206
"To the Public," 207
"To the Roman Catholic Voters in Baltimore-Town," 198
Broadway, Baltimore, 13
Brodnox, Mary, Mrs. Thomas, 37
Thomas, 37

"Broken Hints," by Joseph Hawley, 151, 152
Brooke, Dr., 44
Brookes, Francis, 41
Brookfield, Mass., 329
Brooks, Joseph, 312
Brooks, Van Wyck, *Fenollosa and His Circle With Other Essays in Biography*, 389
Brown, Miss, 7
Alexander, 238
Alexander, and Sons, 250
Brown, Alexander Crosby, *Steam Packets on the Chesapeake*, reviewed, 62
Dorothy, 284, 382
BROWN, DOROTHY M., *Politics of Crisis: The Maryland Elections of 1788-89*, 195-209
Capt. Thomas, 368
George William, 50
Browne, William Hand, 341, 342
Browning, Sen. Orville, 54
Bruchey, Stuart, 271
Bruton, Dorothy, 38
Bryan, Alfred C., 240 ff., 247 ff.
Buchanan, Andrew, 189
Pres. James., 48, 49, 52, 172
Buchholz, Heinrich Ewald, 356, 358
Buel, C. C., 135
Bullen, John, 193
Bureau of Building Construction, 213
Burges, James Bland, 16-28
Mrs. James Bland, 23, 25, 28
Burgess, R., 367
Robert H., 62
Burgoyne, Gen. John, 285-333
Burnet's Farm, 306
Burnett, Edmund C., 289
Burnette, O. Lawrence, Jr., 170
Burns, Robert, 56
Burnside, Gen. Ambrose, 149, 273
Burquittsville, Frederick County, 157
Burr, Aaron, 25, 27, 380
Burton, Gov. William, of Delaware, 58
Buse, Elliott, 247
Bussard, Daniel, 266
Bute, Lord, 26
BUTTERFIELD, L. H., *John Adams' Correspondence with Hezekiah Niles: Some Notes and a Query*, 150-154
Button Mould Bay, 295
"By-Stander," pseud., 91, 98
Byron, Gilbert, *The Winds Will*, 64

Cadwalader, John, 372
Caen University, 31
*A Calendar of the Ridgely Family Letters 1742-1899*, Vol. III, edited by Leon de Valinger, Jr., and Virginia E. Shaw, 172
Calhoun, James, 242, 251
John C., 273-275, 366, 376
Callcott, George H., 269, 376
Callender, Guy S., 251
Calvert, Cecilius, 186
Charles, 87
George, 77
Sir George, 338
Calvert Street, Baltimore, 253
Cambridge, Dorchester County, 394
Cambridge, Mass., 287 ff., 329, 330
Cambridge University, 30
Camp Blair, Berlin, Worcester County, 155
*The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas with Remarks Historical and Critical on Johnson's Life of Greene*, by Henry Lee, Jr., *reviewed*, 170
Campbell, Lt. Col., 331
Colin, 78, 189
Capt. D., 369
John, 184, 189, 190, 193
*Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years*, by Robin W. Winks, *reviewed*, 166-167
*Canal or Railroad*, by Julius Rubin, reviewed, 271-272
*Canals and American Economic Development*, by Carter Goodrich and others, 68
"A Candid Spectator," pseud., 201
Cannon, William, 59
Cantwell, Robert, *Alexander Wilson Naturalist and Pioneer*, reviewed, 56-58
Cape Francois, Haiti, 23
*Cape Nichola Mole* (ship), 23
Capitol, Washingtin, D. C., 47
Carey, James, 241
Matthew, 272
William, 272
Cargo, Mr., 333
A CARGO OF FLOUR PRESENTED IN 1775 BY THE PROVINCIAL CONVENTION OF MARYLAND TO THE "PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY," by L. Wetherd Barroll, 371-374
Carleton, Christopher, 292
Gen. Sir Guy, 164, 286, 291, 292
Carlisle, Pa., 129
Carnegie, Andrew, 339
Caroline County, 356
Carpenter, Thomas, 264, 265
Carrington, Eliza Ambler, 60
Carroll, Charles, 187, 339, 344
Charles, Sr., 179

Charles, Barrister, 183, 339
Charles, of Carrollton, 179, 186 ff., 191, 192, 205, 242, 382
Dr. Charles, 344, 395
Daniel, 123, 206
Rev. John, D.D., 213
Carroll County, 349
Carter, Major, 330
Capt. John, 303
Cartright, Demetrius, 32
Cash, [W. J.], 268
Cashtown, Pa., 137, 143
Castine, Maine, 61
Castletown, Vt., 300-301
Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, 279
" Cato," pseud., 96
Caton, Henry, 189, 190
Richard, 241-242
" Caution," pseud., 199
" Caveto," pseud., 201
Cemetery Hill, Gettysburg, 148
Center Street, Baltimore, 253
Central Bank of Frederick, 248
Central Trust Company of Maryland, 248
Centreville, Queen Anne's County, 373
*Century* (magazine), 8, 10
Chalmers, John, 394-395
Chambersburg, Pa., 137, 143
Chambliss, [William P.], 141
Champ, William, 32, 33
Chancellorsville, Va., 145, 148, 149
*Chanteying Aboard American Ships,* by Frederick Pease Harlow, *reviewed,* 277-278
Chapelle, Howard I., *Baltimore Clippers,* 62
Charles I, King of England, 286
Charles Street, Baltimore, 210, 211
Charlotte Hall, St. Mary's County, 45
Chase, Ann Baldwin, 185
Jeremiah Townley, 202, 206
Matilda (Walker), Mrs. Thomas, 80
Salmon P., 52
Samuel, 78-89, 177-194, 196 ff., 202 ff., 284, 347
Rev. Thomas, 80, 179
Cherman, John, 37
*Chesapeake* (steamboat), 62
Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, 113, 118, 125
Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, 124
Chesapeake Bay, 19, 22, 61 ff., 70, 106 ff., 115, 119, 124, 311, 336, 368
*Chesapeake Bay and Tidewater,* by A. Aubrey Bodine, 66
Chesapeake Biological Laboratory, 397
*Chesapeake Cove,* by Gilbert Byron, 64
The Chesapeake Insurance Company, 238, 239
Chester, Pa., 107
Chester River, 131
Chesterfield, Mass., 329
" Chesterfield," Queen Anne's County, 373
Chestertown, Kent County, 108, 371, 372
Chew, Samuel, 161
Samuel, Sr., 161, 162
*Chicago Tribune* (newspaper), 166
Chimney Point, Vt., 295
Christ's Hospital, Cambridge, England, 17, 28
Christie, James, 186
Robert, 186
The Church of the Nativity, Cedarcroft, 73
Churn Creek, Kent County, 374
Church Creek, Dorchester County, 394
" Citizen," pseud., 200, 230
" A Citizen of Maryland," pseud., 91, 96
Claborns Island, 40
Claiborne, William, 40
Clap, Pres. Thomas, of Yale College, 172
Clara de Hirsch School for Girls in New York City, 12
Clark, Charles B., 59
Jane, 288, 291
Clark, Thomas D., " The New South, 1880-1900," 384
Clark, Thomas D., editor, *Travels in the New South, A Bibliography,* reviewed, 384-385
Clay, Henry, 269-270, 376, 382, 383
Clayton, Capt., 331
Sarah, Mrs. William, 373
William, 373
Clemson, Floride, 273-275
John Calhoun, 274
Thomas Green, 274
Clemson College, 275
Clifton, Dr., 44
Clinton, DeWitt, 382
Sir Henry, 308, 317, 318, 323
Stephen, 32
" Clinton " majolica, 396
Clocker, Mary, 38
" Clover Field," Queen Anne's County, 218

Coane, Lt., 309
Cobb, Elkanah, 266
Cochran, Thomas C., and Andrews, Wayne, editors, *Concise Dictionary of American History*, 389
Cochrane, Vice Adm. A., 369
Cockburn, Admiral, 267, 369, 370
Cocke, Buler, 261
Cokesbury College, 395
Coffin, Lewis A., 219
Cohen, Roger S., Jr., 64, 171
Cohn, Deborah, 3
Colcord, Joanna C., *Roll and Go*, 278
Lincoln, 278
Collins, Alfred B., Jr., *Roosevelt and Howe*, 389
Capt. H., 333
Columbia, Pa., 118
Columbia Broadcasting System, 284
Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D. C., 68
THE COLUMBIA MANUFACTURING COMPANY AND THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, 1808-1816, by Richard W. Griffin, 259-267
*Columbian Maid* (ship), 104
*Commanders of the Army of the Potomac*, by Warren W. Hassler, 172; *reviewed*, 272-273
Commons, John R., 98
*Concise Dictionary of American History*, edited by Thomas C. Cochran and Wayne Andrews, 389
*A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, by Bernard Romans, 172
Concord, Mass., 372
Concordia Hall, Baltimore, 4
Conference on the History of Western America, 280
Connecticut River, 329
Conning, Mrs. Gordon R., 155
*Considerations*, by Daniel Dulany, 178, 187
*Constellation* (ship), 272
Contee, Benjamin, 206
Contributors, 73, 175, 284, 397
Coode, John, 36, 39, 336
Cool Springs, St. Mary's County, 45
Cooper, Samuel, 152
Coote, Capt., 312
Copley, Gov. [Lionel], 337
Corning Museum of Glass, 391 ff.
Cornwallis, Lord Charles, 170
Corwin, Edward S., 179
Cotton, Capt. William, 312, 330
Couch, Gen. [Darius N.], 138
Coulter, E. Merton, 385
John, 197 ff., 201, 204
Council of Safety, 373
Covelville, N.Y., 315
Coventry Parish, 338
Coxe, Tench, 261
Craig, Capt. James H., 294, 302
Crampton's Gap, 157
Cranch, Judge, 261
Richard, 152
Crane, William B., Cranwell, John Phillips, and, *Men of Marque*, 62
Cranmer, H. Jerome, 68
Cranshaw, Dr., 12
Cranwell, John Phillips, and Crane, William B., *Men of Marque*, 62
Craven, [W. Frank], 268
Crawford, William, 382
Creek, William, 160-162
Cresap, Thomas, 338, 339, 341, 342, 345
Creyer, Mrs. Frank V., 282
Crittenden, Lucius C., 52
Crofton, Capt. G. A., 369
Croons, James B., 394
Crown Point, N.Y., 295
Cullen, Lt. William, 302
Culp's Hill, Gettysburg, 146
Culpepper, Nicholas, *A Dictionary for Midwives*, 38
Cumberland, Allegany County, 352
Cumberland and Union Road, 128
Cunningham, Dr. Cornelius, 261
Curtis, Edward E., 324
Custis, George Washington Parke, 263
Custis-Lee house, Washington, D. C., 393
Cutler, Carl C., 62
Cutting, N. 261

Dabney, William M., 287 ff., 329, 330
Dalrymple, Lady Marjory, 72
family, 72
Dalsheimer, Simon, 11
Dana, [Richard Henry], 277
Daughtery, Rev. Francis, 37
Davenport, Humphrey, 43
*David G. Floyd* (schooner), 278
*David Stewart* (ship), 394
Davis, Curtis Carroll, *The Kings Chevalier: A Biography of Lewis Littlepage*, 69; reviewed, 168-169
Jefferson, 49
Davis, Joseph S., *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations*, 100
Joseph S., 103, 104, 109, 111, 113, 114, 116, 117, 119 ff., 130, 131,

229, 230 ff., 236, 239, 240, 242, 244, 251, 253
Decatur house, Washington, D. C., 393
deContie, Mitchell, 35
de Fermoy, Gen. Roche, 299
de Fonbanque, Edward B., 293, 323, 329
De Gasparin, Mr.. 54
de Gaulle, Charles, 48
Delaware Bay 106, 108, 115, 124
*Delaware during the Civil War: A Political History*, by Harold Hancock, *reviewed*, 58, 59
*Delaware History*, 58
*Delaware Poems*, by Gilbert Byron, 64
Delaware River, 57
Deems, Mrs. C. Everard, 72
Demondidier, Anthony, 37
Deneale, G., 265
Dennis, Sarah Rebecca (Harman), Mrs. William Armstrong, 72
William Armstrong, 72
Dent, George, 206
De Peyster, J. Watts, 293
De Russy, Col. [Gustavus A.], 159
Desjardine, John, 35
Desmond, Alice Curtis, *George Washington's Mother*, reviewed, 61
De Valinger, Leon, and Shaw, Virginia, editors, *A Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters, 1742-1899*, 172
De Zouche family, 71
Diamond Island, 320
H.M.S. *Dictator* (ship), 367-370
*A Dictionary for Midwives*, by Nichols Culpepper, 38
Digby, Lieut. William, 286, 291, 292, 293, 310 ff., 325
Digges, Charles, 394
Dixon, James, 189
Dod, Capt. E., 369
Dodd, [William E.], 268
Dodge, William E., 51
Doll, Rt. Rev. Harry Lee, 210
Mrs. Harry Lee, 210
Dolmetsch, Carl R., Servies, James A., and, editors, *The Poems of Charles Hansford*, reviewed, 387-388
Domestic Manufacture Company of Alexandria, 265, 267
Dorchester County, 394
Dorr Rebellion, 346-366
Dorsey, Elizabeth, Mrs. Richard, 220
Rhoda M., 379
Richard, 219, 220
Dorsey-Hopkins Town House, 222
Double Pipe Creek, 133, 135
Douglas, Lt. James, 302
Robert, 287, 289, 290
Stephen A., 52, 383
Dovegat, N. Y., 315, 322
Dover, Pa., 141
Dowd, Mary Jane, 175, 272
DOWD, MARY JANE, *The State in the Maryland Economy, 1776-1807*, 90-132, 229-258
*Dragon* (ship), 368
"Drayton," Kent County, 374
Duer, Catherine, Mrs. William, 308, 314
William, 308, 310, 311, 314
Dulany, Daniel, 81, 178, 182 ff., 187, 188, 190, 338 ff., 344
Lloyd, 192
Walter, 80, 81, 86 ff., 177, 182, 183, 187, 189 ff.
Dulany St., Baltimore, 71
*The Dulanys of Maryland*, by Aubrey C. Land, 175
Dunlap, Capt., 314
Duponceau, Peter S., 285
Durrenberger, Joseph A., 127, 128, 130
Dutch East India Company, 45
Duval, Gabriel, 261

Eagle Artillery, 155
Earle, Michael, 194
*Early American Wooden Ware & Other Kitchen Utensils*, by Mary Earle Gould, *reviewed*, 275-276
Early, Gen. Jubal, 141
East Baltimore Street, Baltimore, 1, 11, 394
East Lexington Street, Baltimore, 395
East Lombard Street, Baltimore, 1
Eastern Branch Bridge, Washington, D. C., 131
Eastern Branch Bridge Co., 130
Easton, Talbot County, 106
Easton Bank of Maryland, 247
Easton Branch of Annapolis Farmers Bank, 245, 246
*Easton Star* (newspaper), 247
Eaton, Clement, *The Growth of Southern Civiliation, 1790-1860*, 172; reviewed, 268-269
Eden, Anthony, 345
Sir Robert, 345
Eden Street, Baltimore, 71
EDWARD THORNTON TO JAMES BLAND BURGES: LETTERS WRITTEN FROM BALTIMORE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, edited by S. W. Jackson, 16-28
*Edwin & Maud* (ship), 61

Eggleston, Edward, *History of the United States*, 3
8th Regiment of Foot, 293
85th Regiment of Foot, 369
Elder, Robert, 392
11th Corps, Army of the Potomac, 137, 138, 144
Eleventh Massachusetts Regiment, 301
Elizabeth Turnpike Company, 128
Elk River, 108, 125
Elkton, Cecil County, 107, 352
"Ellangowan," Baltimore County, 395
Ellet, Elizabeth F., 330
Ellicott, Andrew, 242
John, 242
family, 105, 106
Elliott, Hon. Hugh, 26
Ellyson, Robert, 33, 35, 39
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 48
Emmitsburg, Frederick County, 137, 138, 142
Emory, Frederic, 373
Enoch Pratt Free Library, 761, 390
*Enterprize* (schooner), 305
"An Enthusiast in Trade," pseud., 93 ff.
Ephrata Cloisters, 393
Episcopal High School, Alexandria, Va., 75
Errett, Raymond, 392
Erie Canal, 271
Etting, Solomon, 238
*Europa* (ship), 23
Evans, Henry, Sr., 282
Harriet Hurle, Mrs. Henry, Sr., 282
Oliver, 106
Roger, 38
Evansville College, 284
*Evening Star* (Washington newspaper), 53
Ewell, Gen. [Richard S.], 137, 143, 146, 148
Exeter Street, Baltimore, 1
*Exodus* (ship), 63

*Fabric of Freedom, 1763-1800*, by Esmond Wright, *reviewed*, 163-165
*The Fabulous Octogenarian: Life, Love, Labour, Lore, Legend, Language, Laughter of Courtney W. Shropshire, M.D.*, by James Chancellor Leonhart, 172
*The Face of Maryland*, by A. Aubrey Bodine, *reviewed*, 66-67
Fairburn, [William Armstrong], 61
Fairlee, Kent County, 373
Falls Road Turnpike, 129
Falls Road Turnpike Company, 129
Farmers National Bank of Annapolis, 244, 245, 247, 248
Farquhar, Roger Brooke, *Old Homes and History of Montgomery County, Maryland*, 172
Fatout, Paul, editor, *Letters of a Civil War Surgeon*, reviewed, 171
*Federal Gazette* (Baltimore newspaper), 244, 245
Federalist Party, 195-209
"Federals," pseud., 197, 198
Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland, 71
Fells Point, 203
Fendall, Josias, 33, 336, 337
*Fenollosa and His Circle with Other Essays in Biography*, by Van Wyck Brooks, 389
Ferguson, E. James, 381
Ferguson, E. James, *The Power of the Purse*, reviewed, 270-271
William, 312
Ferrell, Robert H., 167
Fessenden, William Pitt, 52
Few, Abraham, 206
Fidelity Baltimore Bank, 245
Fidelity Building, Baltimore, 211
Field, David Dudley, 52
Thomas Meagher, 188
5th Corps, Army of the Potomac, 137, 138, 140 ff., 144
52nd Regiment, 320
53rd Regiment of Foot, 286, 291, 292, 298, 302, 311 ff., 319, 320, 324
54th Regiment, 331
58th Coast Artillery, 75
Finlayson, Charles P., 287, 290
1st Corps, Army of the Potomac, 135, 137 ff., 144
1st German Brigade, 293
1st Maryland Light Artillery, 155, 159
First National Bank of Baltimore, 249
Fish Kiln, N. Y., 313, 314, 322, 324
Fisher, George P., 58
Fishing Bay, 61
Fitch, James, 104
John, 104
Fitzpatrick, John C., 196
Nancy R., 396
Fleming, [W. L.], 268
*Flora* (British ship), 331, 332
Flour to Massachusetts Bay, 371-374
Fogg, Ezekial, 34
Fogland Ferry, 333
*Follow the Water*, by Varley Lang, *reviewed*, 63
Foncin, Col. Jean, 65

Fonerden, Adam, 99
Force Bill, 52
Ford, Commodore, 23
W. C., 288, 289, 294, 298, 302, 312, 319, 330
"Foreign-Language Accounts by Travelers in the Southern States, 1900-1955," by Lawrence S. Thompson, 384
Forensic Club, 179 ff.
Forman, Elizabeth (Lee), Mrs. Joseph, 373
Ezekiel, 371, 373
Joseph, 373
Ft. Anne, N.Y., 304 ff.
Fort Clinton, N.Y., 317
Fort Cumberland, 120
Fort Duquesne, 386
Fort Edward, N.Y., 303, 306 ff., 322
Fort George, N.Y., 303, 306, 314
Fort Hardy, N.Y., 324
Ft. Lyman, 306
Fort McHenry, 65-66, 156
Ft. Miller, N.Y., 307, 308
Fort Montgomery, N.Y., 317, 318
Ft. Schuyler, N.Y., 311
Fort Stanwix, 310, 311
Fort Sumter, 52 ff.
Fort Ticonderoga, N.Y., 292, 295, 298 ff., 303, 308, 319, 324
Fort Whetstone, 60
Fort William, 296
44th Regiment of Foot, 369
47th Regiment of Foot, 291, 292, 294, 298, 302, 309, 316, 319, 320
Foster, James W., 390, 391
FOSTER, JAMES W., by Richard Walsh, 75-77
FOUND: ONE ANCHOR FROM H.M.S. DICTATOR, by Frank J. Schwartz and James Green, 367-370
Fountain, Marcy, 356
Four Mile Point, 295
*Four Years in the Confederate Artillery*, edited by William H. Runge, *reviewed*, 64
4th Regiment of Foot, 289, 369
14th Brooklyn Regiment, 159
Fox, Charles, 293
Fox, Dixon Ryan, *Yankees and Yorkers*, 334
Francis, Col. Ebenezer, 301
Franklin, Benjamin, 27, 168, 339, 376
Gen. [William B.], 156, 157, 159
Franklin and Marshall College, 175
Fraser, Capt. Alexander, 309, 312, 314, 319, 321, 322
Brig. Gen. Simon, 292, 295, 304, 316 ff., 325, 327
Fraser's Company of Rangers, 298, 300
Frazier, Joshua, 189, 190
Frederic Regiment, 293
Frederick, 106, 126, 129, 135 ff., 145, 340, 352, 355, 391, 392
Frederick County, 341, 349, 353, 394
Frederick Road, 130
Frederick Turnpike, 127, 129, 130
Fredericksburg, Va., 149, 155, 159, 160, 393
Fredericktown Branch Bank, 248
Freeman's Farm, Battle of, 286, 315 ff., 319, 321, 324, 328
French, Mr., 309
Lt., 309
French-town, 106 ff.
Friedenwald, Dr. Aaron, 11
Moses, 11
"A Friend to Agriculture and Manufactures," pseud., 92 ff., 96, 98
"A Friend to Equal Justice," pseud., 95, 102
"Friends of Anti-Federalism," pseud., 202
Frisch, William, 11
Frizzelburg, Carroll County, 135, 138, 143
Front Street, Baltimore, 3, 9
Frothingham, Thomas G., 293
Fuller, J. F. C., 287

Gage, Gen. Thomas, 186
Gale, George, 206
Gallatin, Albert, 129, 130
*Galloping Head*, by S. W. Jackman, 73
Galloway, Peter, 161
Gardiner, Miss, 173
John, 263, 264, 266
Gardman, Rev. Dr., 374
Garrison, Fielding H., 31, 34
Gatell, Frank Otto, 383
Gates, Gen. Horatio, 289, 299, 313, 316, 322 ff., 326 ff.
*Gates* (galley), 305
Gay, John, 32
Gay Street, Baltimore, 3, 200
Genet, Raymond, 19
George I, King of England, 341
George II, King of England, 387
George III, King of England, 205, 291
George, Enoch, 356
George Washington University, 284
*George Washington's Mother*, by Alice Curtis Desmond, *reviewed*, 61
Georgetown, D.C., 47, 101, 121, 129
Georgetown Blanket Factory, 267

Georgetown Bridge Company, 130, 131
*Georgetown Messenger* (newspaper), 266
The Georgetown Mutual Insurance Company, 235, 236, 239
Germain, Lord George, 286, 291, 296 305, 311, 325
German Grenadiers, 291, 293
Gerrard, Thomas, 33, 35
Gettysburg, Pa., 133-149, 155
Ghiselin, Reverdy, 190
Gilliland, William, 294, 295
Gilmor, Robert, 232, 238, 239, 241
Gittings, Col. John Sterett, 50
Glencoe, Baltimore County, 2
Glevin, Bartholomew, 44
Gminder, A. Roland, 13
Albert J. 13
Goldsborough, Gov. [Charles], 130
*Good Speed* (ship), 394-395
Goodrich, Carter, editor, *Canals and American Economic Development*, 68
Godson, Peter, 34
Gordon, Elizabeth, 283
James, 283
Jane, 283
Margaret, 283
Martha, 283
Mary, 283
Nancy, 283
Brig. Gen. Patrick, 307, 308
William, 298, 299, 303, 311, 317
Gorsuch, Dickinson, II, 281
Edward, 281
Gosfright, Charles, 43
Gosnell, Peter, 282
Gouge, Henry, 44
Gould, Clarence, 109
Gould, Mary Earle, *American Wooden Ware & Other Kitchen Utensils*, reviewed, 275-276
Grant, Maj. Robert, 298, 300, 303
Ulysses S., 273
Grape, Jacob, 13
Great Falls of the Potomac River, 119, 121, 123
Great Falls Woolen Mills, 267
*Great Northern* (steamship), 62
Green, Fletcher M., "The South in Reconstruction, 186-1880," 384
J., betw. 368-369
[J. R.], 268
James, 397
GREEN, JAMES, SCHWARTZ, FRANK J., and, *Found: One Anchor from H. M.S. Dictator*, 367-370
Jonas, 85, 86, 89, 188, 190, 192, 194
Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore, 159
Greene, Jack P., 165
Nathaniel, 170
Greenfield, John, 37
Greenleaf's Point, Washington, D. C., 266, 267
Grenville, Lord, 26
Griese, Commander Arthur, U.S.N., 342
Griffin, Richard W., 284
GRIFFIN, RICHARD W., *The Columbia Manufacturing Company and the Textile Industry of the District of Columbia, 1808-1816*, 259-267
Griffith, Thomas W., 100, 105, 106, 116, 233, 239
Groden, Joseph, 42
Grover & Baker Co., 282
*The Growth of Southern Civilization 1790-1860*, by Clement Eaton, 172, *reviewed*, 268-269
Guerin, Jasper, 35
*A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the U.S.*, edited by Philip M. Hamer, 390
*Guide to the Study of West Virginia History*, by Charles Shetler, *reviewed*, 65
Gunnell, George, 35
Gunpowder River, 131
Gunston Hall, Va., 393

Hack, Dr. George, 34, 35
Hadden, Lieut. James M., 286, opp. 288, 293, 303, 310 ff., 315, 318
Hadley, Mass., 329
Hagensick, A. Clarke, 397
HAGENSICK, A. CLARKE, *Revolution or Reform in 1836: Maryland's Preface to the Dorr Rebellion*, 346-366
Hagerstown, Washington County, 136, 352
Hagerstown Bank, 249
Haggart, Lt., 303
Haggat, Mrs. Humphrey, 40
Hagthorp, John, 99
Hale, Col. Nathan, 301
Half Moon, N.Y., 307, 320
Halifax, Earl of, 186
Halifax, England, 24
Hall, Clayton C., 38, 45
John, 80, 187, 192, 193
Dr. William, 35
Hall of Records, 29
Halleck, Gen. Henry W., 136 ff., 143, 145, 389

*Halleck: Lincoln's Chief of Staff*, by Stephen E. Ambrose, 389
Hambleton, John, 34
William, 37
Hamer, Philip M., 154
Hamer, Philip M., *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the U.S.*, 390
Hamersley, Hugh, 186
Hamilton, Lt., 332
Alexander, 19, 165, 241, 261-262, 271
Brig. James I., 293, 318
Hamlin, Hannibal, 48
Hammond, Bray, 241
Denton, 71
George, 16, 17, 19, 20, 24, 26
John, 80
Mathias, 71
Sarah Hall (Baldwin), Mrs. Mathias, 71
William, 16, 109
Hammond-Harwood house, 216
Hampton, Wade, 141
house, Towson, 216
Hancock, Harold, *Delaware during the Civil War: A Political History*, reviewed, 58-59
Gen. Winfield S., 144
Handlin, Mary, 109, 113, 229
Oscar, 109, 113, 229
Hanna, Hugh S., 250
Hanover, Pa., 129, 136, 140, 142, 144
Hanover Road, 141
Hansford, Charles, 387-388
Hanson, Alexander Contee, 206
Hanson, George, *Old Kent*, 372, 373
[John], 382
Harburgh, Leonard, 126
Harding, Aunt Sarah, 374
Hardy, Sir Charles, 324
Capt. J., 369
Harford County Historical Society, 73
Hargreaves, Mary W. M., Hopkins, James F., and, editors, *The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume II*, reviewed, 269-270
Harlow, Frederick Pease, *Chanteying Aboard American Ships*, reviewed, 277-278
Harper, Robert, 33, 38
Robert [Goodloe], 382
Harper's Ferry, 104, 121, 122, 136
Harrington, Earl of, 327
Harris, Isaac, 184
Capt. John A., 302
Richard, 265
Thomas, 131
Walter, 311, 313
Harrisburg, Pa., 137, 138, 142
Harrison, Alexander Contee, 179
Robert Hanson, 208
William Henry, 354
Harriss, Mr., 161
Hart, Gov. [John], 337
Hartley, David, 16
Hartogensis, Benj. H., 3, 11 ff.
Grace (Bendann), Mrs. Benjamin H., 12
Harvard College, 152
Hassler, Warren W., Jr., *Commanders of the Army of the Potomac*, 172, reviewed, 272-273
Hathaway, Anthony, 392
Hatton, Richard, 38
Haughton, Lt. Richard, 298
Hawley, Joseph, "Broken Hints," 151 ff.
Hayes, John, 91, 93
Hazard, Samuel, 341
Head, Sir Francis Bond, 73
Heath, Milton S., 132, 255
Gen. William, 288, 289, 330
Hebden, Thomas, 37
Hebrew Literary Society, 9, 14
Heidlersburg, 143
Hemphill, W. Edwin, 275
HENRIETTA SZOLD AND THE RUSSIAN IMMIGRANT SCHOOL, by Alexandra Lee Levin, 1-15
Henry, John, 205
Patrick, 153
Herringe, Bartholomew, 34
Hesketh-Williams, Mrs., 344
Hesse Hanau Dragoons, 291, 293, 294, 316, 331
Hesseltine, [William B.], 268
Heywood, Thomas, 277
High, James, 397
HIGH JAMES, *The Origins of Maryland's Middle Class in the Colonial Aristocratic Pattern*, 334-345
High Street, Baltimore, 1, 13
Hill, A. P., 143
Lt. Col., John, 304
Hirsch, Baron Maurice de, 5, 11, 12, 14
Historic American Buildings Survey, 66
Historic Annapolis, Inc., 71
*Historical Sketches of St. Paul's Parish*, by Ethan Allen, 213
History Awards of Merit, 390-391
*History of the South*, 380

*History of the United States*, by Edward Eggleston, 3
*H. L. M.: The Mencken Bibliography*, by Jane Wilhelm, 390
Hochschild, Max, 11
Hoffman, Mrs. M., 7
Hodges, J. S. B., 217, 222
Hodgson, Robert, 108
Hofstadter, [Richard], 268
Holden, A. C., 219
Hollander, J. H., 251, 252
Hollyday, Henry, 194
Holmes, John, 32
Oliver Wendell, 108
Holt, Rebecca Jane (Banning). Mrs. Stephen, 394
Rose Ann (Rosanna), Mrs. Stephen, 394
Sarah Catherine (Houlton), Mrs. Stephen, 394
Stephen, 394
John T., 394
John Tristram, 394
Joseph, 394
W. Stull, 183, 339
William, 394
Homewood house, Baltimore, 216
"Honestus," pseud., 205
Hood, Zachariah, 186
Hooker, Gen. Joseph, 133, 136, 137, 139, 145, 149, 273
Hooper, Henry, 43
Hopetoun, Earl of, 289
Hopkins, C. A. Porter, 63, 64, 171, 276
Hopkins, C. A. Porter, editor, *Three Civil War Letters of James H. Rigby, A Maryland Federal Artillery Officer*, 155-162
Hopkins, James F., and Hargreaves, Mary W. M., editors, *The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume II*, reviewed, 269-270
Johns, 220
Ralph J., 395
Thomas A., 395
Hopkins Town House, Baltimore, 220, 222
Horn, Aaron, 283
Peggy, 283
Horsfoord, George, 35
House and Garden Pilgrimmage, 70
Howard, Cornelius, 282
John Eager, 210, 211, 213, 219, 242
Gen. O. O., 144
Howard Street, Baltimore, 222, 253
Howard's Hill, Baltimore, 253
Howe, Elias, Jr., 282
Louis McHenry, 389
Sir William, 287, 288, 291, 293, 308, 311. 314, 319, 326
Howell, Charles, 39
Capt. Thomas, 42
Howland, Richard, 225, 226
Hoyt, William D., Jr., 180
Hubbardton, Vt., 300, 301, 303, 320, 325
Hudleston, F. J., 291, 295, 296, 300, 301, 303, 329
Hudson River, 287, 306 ff., 310, 312 ff., 218, 322 ff., 326, 327, 329
Hughes, Vincent, 71
Hume, I. Noel, 391, 392
Mrs. I. Noel, 391, 392
Hunt, Gaillard, 377
Henry, 146, 147
Brig. Ben. Henry J., 135
Husbands, Dr. Edward, 32
Hush, Elizabeth (Connelly), Mrs. George, 71
George, 71
Hutchinson, Anne, 167
Hutchinson, William T., and Rachal, William M. E., editors, *The Papers of James Madison*, 172, reviewed, 376-378
Hutton, James, 16, 26, 28
Hyde, Thomas, 189, 192

I. U. Parish, Kent County, 373
Iams, Elizabeth (Pottenberger), Mrs. Richard, 174
Richard, 174
Igor, Thomas, 34
Index to Magazine, 390
Indians: Algonquin, 295
Abnaki, 295
Iriquois, 295
Mohawks, 311, 313
Ottawa, 295, 305, 306, 308
Stockbridge, 313
*The Inevitable Success: Herbert R. O'Conor*, by Harry W. Kirwin, *reviewed*, 375-376
*An Index to the Source Records of Maryland*, by Eleanor B. Passano, 65
*Index to West Virginiana*, by Robert F. Munn, *reviewed*, 65
*The Indomitable John Scott: Citizen of Long Island, 1632-1704*, by Lilian T. Mowrer, 68
Institute of Early American History and Culture, 167, 385
Ipswich, England, 286
Ipswich, Mass., 152
"An Irishman," pseud., 197
Irving, Washington, 48

Irwin, James, 265
Isaac Bar Levison Hebrew Literary Society, 2 ff.
Isaacs, Judge, M. S., 11

Jackman, S. W., 73
JACKMAN, S. W., editor, *Edward Thornton to James Bland Burges,* 16-28
Jackson, Pres. Andrew, 27, 348, 355, 363, 382
  Gov. Claiborne, of Missouri, 49
  Gen. Thomas J., 48, 273
Jacques, Lancelot, 192, 195
Jamaica, 24
Jamaica Plains, Mass., 374
JAMES W. FOSTER, by Richard Walsh, 75-77
Jameson, Roseline A., 174
  Sarah Ann (Love), 173
  Thomas, 173-174
  Thomas H., 174
  William, Sr., 173-174
  Willie, 173
*Jasseur* (brig), 368
Jastrow, Joseph, 8
  Rachel Szold, 5, 8
Jay, John, 27
Jay Treaty, 24, 27
Jefferson, Thomas, 25, 27, 52, 110, 116, 124, 168, 218, 256, 259, 376, 383
  Warren, 72
  family, 72
Jefferson, Washington Co., 156, 157
Jeffries, Clementina Matilda (Wethered), Mrs. George, 374
  George, 374
  Dr. John, 374
Jenifer, Daniel of St. Thomas, 186, 345
*Jennie D. Bell* (ship), 61
Jennings, Edmund, 192
  Thomas, 181, 186
Jensen, Merrill, 100, 101, 165
*Jeremie* (ship), 23
Jeromesville, Ohio, 394
Jessup, Ebenezer, 298, 307
  Edward, 298, 307
Jewish Publication Society of America, 11
"Johann Friederich Amelung at New Bremen," by Dorothy M. Quynn, 393
Johannsen, Robert W., editor, *The Letters of Stephen A. Douglas,* reviewed, 383
*John Adams' Correspondence with Hezekiah Niles: Some Notes and a Query,* by L. H. Butterfield, 150-154
John Street Bridge, Baltimore, 252
Johns Hopkins Hospital, 220
Johns Hopkins University, 12, 15, 29, 63, 175
Johnson, Sir John, 293
  Keach, 340
  Vice President Lyndon B., 48
  R. U., 135
  Reverdy, 52, 131
  William, 170
  Sir William, 293
Johnson's Island, Ohio, 274
Jones, H. G., 173
  Lt. John, 302
  John Paul, 168
  Thomas, 298
Jones Falls, Baltimore, 129, 131. 233, 252
*Joseph Ledlie and William Moody: Early Pittsburgh Residents, Their Background and Some of Their Descendants,* compiled by Ledlie I. Laughlin, 68
*Journal of Southern History,* 397

Kaiser, Rev. Alois, 11
Kates, Rev. Frederick Ward, 210, 219
"Kenmore," 393
Kennedy, James, 71
  Pres. John F., 48, 49
Kennedy, John Pendleton, *Swallow Barn,* 389
Kennedyville, Kent County, 373
Kent, Benjamin, 152
Kent County, 371-374
Kent County, Delaware, 58
Kent Island, 40
Kerrison, Ray, *Bishop Walsh of Maryknoll,* reviewed, 278-279
Kervick, Francis W., *Architects in America of Catholic Tradition,* 69
Key, Edmund, 192
  Rebecca Campbell, 180, 184
Kickamuet River, 331
Kilbourne, John D., 390
Kilpatrick, [Judson], 141, 149
Kimball, Fiske, 218
King, Rufus, 382
King's Bay, 294
*The King's Chevalier,* by Curtis Carroll Davis, 69; *reviewed,* 168-169
Kingsbury, Vt., 306, 307
Kingston, Robert, 398, 312
Kinsolving, Arthur B., 224
Kirwin, Harry W., *The Inevitable Success: Herbert R. O'Conor,* reviewed, 375-376
Klein, Frederic Shriver, 175

Klein, Frederic Shriver, *Meade's Pipe Creek Line*, 133-149
Klein, Philip S., *President James Buchanan, A Biography*, 172
Knapp, William, 189
Kraus, Michael, 169
Kreiger, David, 35

Lafayette, Marquis de, 169
Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C., 47, 393
LaGuardia, Fiorello, 15
Lake Champlain, Vt., 291, 294, 295
Lake George, N.Y., 295, 298, 307, 319, 320
Lake Ontario, 293
Lamb, R., 286, 294, 301, 303, 305, 311, 316, 321
La Motte, Mr., 313
Lancaster County Civil War Centennial Commission, 175
Lancaster County Civil War Roundtable, 175
*Lancaster County Since 1841*, by Frederic Shriver Klein, 175
Land, Aubrey C., 81, 175, 178, 183, 187, 339
Land. Aubrey C., *A Wag's Hard Lot*, 160-162
Lander, Ernest M., Jr., McGee, Charles, M. Jr., and, editors, *A Rebel Came Home*, reviewed, 273-274
Landis Valley Museum, 393
Lane, Samuel, 43
Lanesborough, Mass., 329
Lang, Varley, *Follow the Water*, reviewed, 63
La Prairie, Quebec, 294
Larned, Gen. Ebenezer, 317, 322
Latrobe, Benjamin H., 173
John, H. B., 274
" Latrobe's America," 280
Laughlin, Ledlie I., *Joseph Ledlie and William Moody*, 68
Laurel, Prince George's County, 67
Laurens, Henry, 288, 289
Law, John, 260
*Laws of Maryland*, compiled by Thomas Bacon, 338, 342
Lazarus, Emma, " Rashi in Prague," 4
Ledlie, Joseph, 68
Lee, Fitzhugh, 139 ff.
Henry, 25
Lee, Henry, Jr., *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas with Remarks Historical and Critical on Johnson's Life of Greene*, reviewed, 170
Light Horse Harry, 170
Gen. Robert E., 59, 136 ff., 141 ff., 147, 148, 273
Thomas Jefferson, 395
Lemaire, John, 35
Lemmon, Robert, 104, 105
L'Enfant, Major Pierre, 47
Leonardtown, St. Mary's County, 352
Leonhart, James Chancellor, *The Fabulous Octogenarian*, 172
*Letters of a Civil War Surgeon*, edited by Paul Fatout, *reviewed*, 171
*The Letters of Stephen A. Douglas* edited by Robert W. Johannsen, *reviewed*, 383
Levin, Alexandra Lee, 73
Levin Alexandra Lee, *Henrietta Szold and the Russian Immigrant School*, 1-15
Louis H., 6, 8, 11
Lewis, Lawrence, 393
Nelly (Custis), Mrs. Lawrence, 393
Lexington Street, Baltimore, 210, 211, 222
Leyburn, James G., *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History*, reviewed, 378-379
Leyden University, 31
Libby, Orin G., 208
Liberty, Carroll County, 138
*Liberty* (schooner), 305
Liberty Street, Baltimore, 215, 217, 219, 220, 222
*The Life of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd*, edited by Nettie Mudd, 172
Limehouse, England, 368
Lincoln, Abraham, 47-55, 146, 281, 383
Gen. Benjamin, 327-328
Mary (Todd), Mrs. Abraham, 50
Tad, 53
Willie, 53
Lindsay, Alexander, 6th Earl of Balcarres, 289, 292, 295, 298, 302, 312, 313, 315, 324, 326, 327
Linthicum, Wesley, 356
Liston, Robert, 26
Literary Society, 11
Little Falls of the Potomac River, 119
Little Pipe Creek, 133
Little Round Top, Gettysburg, Pa., 146
Littlepage, Lewis, 69, 168-169
Littlestown, Pa., 135, 138, 140
Littlestown Road, 141
Livermore, Shaw, 113, 120, 253
Livermore, Shaw, *American Land Companies*, 256
Livermore Shaw, Jr., *The Twilight of Federalism*, 69, reviewed, 381-382

Livingood, James W., 115, 117, 118, 124, 125
Livingston, [Robert], 285
Livingstone, Edward, 27
Lloyd Street, Baltimore, 9
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 243
*Loire* (frigate), 368
Lombroso, Jacob, 35
Long, Major, 276
Robert Cary, 210
Longdon, John, 265
Longstreet, Gen. James, 143, 148, 273
Longueil, Quebec, 284
LORD FRANCIS NAPIER'S JOURNAL OF THE BURGOYNE CAMPAIGN, edited by S. Sydney Bradford, 285-333
Lord, Lt. Simeon, 320
Lossing, Benson J., 80, 306, 307, 310, 311, 313, 316, 322, 324
Loudon Park Cemetery, Baltimore, 155
Louis Philippe, of France, 52
Louisbourg, 386
Love, Judge Philip Greenwell, 173
Love Island, 116
Lovell, Mr., 369
Lower Marlborough, Charles County, 370
Loyola College, 376
Lucas, Fielding, 77
"Lun's Lot," Baltimore, 210, 219
Luxon, Norval N., *Niles' Weekly Register*, 153
Lyons, John, 283
Margaret, Mrs. Peter, 283
Peter, 283

McCarran, Sen. Pat., of Nevada, 375
McCarthy, Sen. Joseph R., of Wisconsin, 375
McClellan, Major, 140
Gen. George B., 149, 156, 157, 272, 273
McConnellsburg, Pa., 137
McCrea, Jane, 306
Maccubin, Nicholas, 79, 89, 192
McCulloch, Duncan, 2
Henry, 335
McCulloch's School, 2
McDonald, Forrest, 271
McDonough *v.* Templeman, 131
McDowell, Irvin, 272
McGee, Charles M., Jr., and Lander, Ernest M., Jr., editors, *A Rebel Came Home*, reviewed, 273-275
McHenry, James, 195 ff., 202 ff., 238, 240, 243, 251
McKean, Thomas, 150
MacKenzie, Rev. Donald Norton, 155
Frederick, 289, 331, 332
McKim, Alexander, 241
McKinney, John, 265
M'Lean, Miss, 57
McLean, Ja., 371
McMahon, John V. L., 177, 347, 348
McMechen, David, 196, 197, 199 ff., 202 ff.
M'Namara, Capt. James, 369
MacNemara, Michael, 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 177, 182, 289 ff.
Thomas, 82

Macy, E. E., 175, 283
Madison, James, 116, 124, 172, 376, 378
Maddocks, Edward, 39
Maddokes, Richard, 44
Mahoney, William T., 155
Main, Jackson Turner, *The Anti-Federalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781-88*, 68
Makemie, Rev. Francis, 34, 35
*Making of America*, 163
Malcolm, Rear Adm. P., 369
Malvern Hill, Battle of, 155
Manakee, Harold R., 67
Manchester, Carroll County, 135, 136, 138, 142 ff.
Manhattan Company, 252
Manhattan Company of New York, 235
"Manufacturers and Gentlemen of Frederick-town," pseud., 100
The Marine Insurance Company, 238
Mariners Museum, Newport News, Va., 62, cover, Dec., 367, 368, 370
*Maritime History of Massachusetts*, by Samuel Eliot Morison, 61
Market Street, Annapolis, 79
Marlborough, Mass., 329
Marsden, Sgt. Charles, 158
Marshall, Chief Justice John, 59-60, 380
Mary Ambler, Mrs. John, 59-60
Mary Keith, Mrs. Thomas, 60
Thomas, 60
Martin, Capt. T. B., 369
Martinet, Simon, 213, 221 ff.
Marvil, James E., M. D., *Sailing Rams*, reviewed, 61-62
Marye, William B., 388
*Maryland Gazette* (newspaper), 78, 79, 82 ff., 91, 93, 95, 187, 189, 206, 230, 244, 338, 342, 395
*Maryland Historical Magazine*, 73
Maryland Historical Society, 71, 75-77, 154, 391

*Maryland History Notes*, 391
Maryland Insurance Fire Company, 231, 251 ff., 236 ff.
*Maryland Journal* (Baltimore newspaper), 97, 197, 200 ff.
MARYLAND MEDICINE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, by George B. Scriven, 29-46
Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, 76
Mason, Francis Norton, *My Dearest Polly*, reviewed, 59-60
George, 377
Massachusetts, Flour sent to, 371-374
Massachusetts Historical Society, 154
Massey, George Valentine, II, *Ancestry of Ralph Carmalt Wilson of Dover, Delaware*, reviewed, 388
family, 175
Masters, Mates and Pilots Association, 394
*Matchett's Baltimore Directory*, 219
Matthews, Dr. William, 206
Mayer, Brantz, 239
Mayo, Bernard, 270
Maysey, Ann, 175
Charles, 175
John, 174-175
Lettice, Mrs. John, 175
Mary, 175
Mary, Mrs. John, 174-175
Robert, 175
Meade, Gen. George Gordon, 133-149, 273
MEADE'S PIPE CREEK LINE, by Frederic Shriver Klein, 133-149
"Mechanic," pseud., 183
Mechanics Bank, 248, 249
Mencken, H. L., 390
"Medfield," Queen Anne's County, 283
Medicine, 29-46
Meeks, John, 32, 36
*Men of Marque*, by William B. Crane and John Phillips Cranwell, 62
Mercantile Library Association, 154
Mercer, Gov. John Francis, 118, 202, 206
"A Merchant of Maryland," pseud., 92, 94
Merchiston, Edinsburghshire, Scotland, 286
Mereness, Newton D., 183
Merry. Anthony. 17
Mersereau, Joshua, 289
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 391
Middleburg, Carroll County, 135, 142, 143
Middleton, Samuel, 183, 193
Middletown, Frederick County, 137, 157
Midwestern Books Competition, 270
Miers, Earl S., 51, 52
Milestown, Delaware, 57
Milford, Harriet N., "Amelung and His New Bremen Glass Wares," 393
Milkovich, Michael, 392
Milton, George Fort, 383
Milnes, Monckton, 17
Minto, Lord, 26
Miranda expedition, 150
Mohawk River, 293, 311
Monocacy River, 110, 126, 135
Monroe, James, 260, 381, 393
Montgomery, Alabama, 49
Montgomery County, 172
Montgomery Street, Baltimore, 13
Monticello, Va., 218
Montolieu, Colonel, 28
Montpelier University, 31
Montreal, Canada, 294
Montresor, Capt. Henry, 369
Moody, William, 68
Moore, Frank, 296
Moore's Farm, Vt., 306
Moorecroft, John, 33
George, 35
Morgan, Gen. Daniel, 316
Edmund S., 178
Helen M., 178
Morison, Samuel Eliot, 73
Morison, Samuel Eliot, *Martime History of Massachusetts*, 61
MORISON, SAMUEL ELIOT, "*Mr. Lincoln Attends Church*," 47-55
Morris, Col., 156
John B., 213, 221
Robert, 271
Morris-Davies, Mrs. F. M., 18
Morristown National Historical Park, 285, 286, 397
Mt. Defiance, 299
Mt. Hope, 298
Mount Hope Bay, 332
Mount Independence, 298 ff., 320
Mount Saint Mary's College, 279
Mount Vernon, Va., 25, 119, 393
Mount Vernon Square, Baltimore, 50
Mowrer, Lilian T., *The Indomitable John Scott*, 68
"MR. LINCOLN ATTENDS CHURCH," by Samuel Eliot Morison, 47-55
Mudd, Miss, 173
Mudd, Nettie, editor, *The Life of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd*, 172
Richard D., M.D., 172, 174

Muddy Creek, Va., 159
Muir, John, 246
Munn, Robert F., *Index to West Virginiana*, Reviewed, 65
Murray, James, 291, 295, 301, 305, 317, 323
William Vans, 206
house, Annapolis, 219
Muzzrole, Richard, 392
*My Dearest Polly*, by Francis Norton Mason, reviewed, 59-60
*My Maryland*, by A. Aubrey Bodine, 66
Myers, Rev. Albert E., 394

Nanticoke River, 61
Napier, Sir Archibald, 286
Lord Francis, 285-333
John, 286
William, 6th Lord, 287
Napoleon III, of France, 52
Natchez, Miss., 373
National Archives, 175
National Bank of Baltimore, 245
National Gallery of Art, 393
National Historical Publications Commission, 383
National Hotel, Washington, D.C., 51
National Institute of Health, 284
*National Intelligencer*, (Washington newspaper), 260, 264
National Maritime Museum, London, 367
National Park Service, 65, 393, 397
National Society of Colonial Dames of Maryland, 71
National Trust for Historic Preservation, 393
Naval Ordnance Test Laboratory, 397
*The Negro in the American Revolution*, by Benjamin Quarles, 68
Nelligan, Murray H., 66
Nelson, Lee H., *An Architectural Study of Fort McHenry*, reviewed, 65-66
Nettels, Curtis P., 271
*New American Nation Series*, 268, 269
New Bremen Glass Manufactory, 391
New Castle, Delaware, 106 ff.
New Jersey Avenue, Washington, D.C., 50
New London, Conn., 371, 374
New Orleans, La., 381
"The New South, 1880-1900," by Thomas D. Clark, 384
New Windsor, Carroll County, 138
New York, N.Y., 333
New York *Herald* (newspaper), 274, 281
Newcastle County, Delaware, 58
Newcomb, Eleazer, 371
Newhouse, Capt. J., 369
Newport, R.I., 287, 298, 330 ff.
Newton, Gen. [John], 157
Niagara campaign, 386
Nichol, Mrs. Homer, 283
Nicholson, Gov. Francis, 337
J., 371
William, 162
Nickerson, Hoffman, 291, 298, 303, 329
Niles, Grace G., 307, 315
Hezekiah, 150-154
*Niles' Weekly Register*, 150, 152
*Niles' Weekly Register*, by Norval N. Luxon, 153
Ninth Regiment of Foot, 291, 292, 302, ff., 306, 312, 316
*Nonsuch* (ship), 332
Norman, William, 36
*North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm: A Checklist*, 173
North Front Street, Baltimore, 4, 5, 7
North Point, 108
Northampton, Mass., 152, 153, 329
Northwest Street, Baltimore, 210
Notes and Queries, 70, 173, 280, 390
Notre Dame College, 284
Nottingham, Prince George's County, 370
*Novangelus*, by John Adams, 150
No. 5, Night School, Baltimore, 13
Nutt, Lt., 330

Oberholtzer, Emil, 167
O'Callaghan, E. B., 287, 293, 298, 303 ff., 310 ff., 317, 319, 321, 323
O'Conor, Herbert R., 375-376
The Octagon House, Washington, D. C., 393
O'Donnell, John, 242
Ogle, Samuel, 339, 342 ff.
Ohio Canal Company, 126
Ohio River, 120, 121
Old Bay Line, 62, 63
Old Court of Claims Building, Washington, D.C., 47
*Old Homes and History of Montgomery County, Maryland*, by Roger Brooke Farquhar, 172
*Old Kent*, by George Hanson, 372, 373
Old South Church, Boston, 34
Old Sturbridge Village, 392
Old Town, Baltimore, 71
Old Light Street Church, Baltimore, 71

Oldfields School, Glencoe, 2
Oler, Peter, 283
Oliver, Nicholas, 40
Robert, 238, 239, 241
O'Neale, Mary Vanderdonk, 37
Oneale, Laurence, 206
Oppenheimer, David, 11
Orange County, Va., 377
Ord, George, 57, 276
THE ORIGINS OF MARYLAND'S MIDDLE CLASS IN THE COLONIAL ARISTOCRATIC PATTERN, by James High, 334-345
Oriskany, Battle of, 311
*Orpheus* (frigate), 330
Osborne, William S., 389
Oswego, N.Y., 393, 311
Otis, Mr., 151
Owler, Lawrence, 283
Owings, Donnell M., 81, 182, 187
Philip Reister, 281-282
Owsley, [Frank], 268
Oxford University, 31

Paca, William, 82, 188, 192, 193
Padgett, James A., 104
Padua University, 31
*The Pageant of the Press: A Survey of 125 Years of Iowa City Journalism, 1836-1961*, by William J. Petersen, 389
Paine, Robert Treat, 153
Paisley, Scotland, 56
Pakenham, General, 381
Pakes, Walter, 32
Palmer, Joseph, 152
Peter S., 294, 303
Paper War, Annapolis, 177-194
*The Paper of Henry Clay, Vol. II*, edited by James F. Hopkins and Mary W. M. Hargreave, *reviewed*, 269-270
*The Papers of James Madison*, edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal, 172, *reviewed*, 376-378
Pappasquash Point, 331
Parker, John, *Van Meteren's Virginia, 1607-1612*, 68; reviewed, 270
Parkman, Francis, 335
*The Parson of the Islands: The Life and Times of the Rev. Joshua Thomas*, by Adam Wallace, 68; *reviewed*, 275
Passano, Eleanor B., *An Index to the Source Records of Maryland*, 65
Patapsco Neck, 210
Pataspsco River, 105, 109, 131
Paterson, James, 290
William, 285
Patterson, William, Jr,. 238, 239, 241
Patrick, Rembert W., 172
Patuxent, 38
Patuxent River, 367-370
Paul, J. D. G., 191
Peabody, George, 70
Peabody Museum, 278
Peace Convention, 1861, 51
Peach Orchard, Gettysburg, Pa., 146
Peale, Charles Willson, 179, 182 ff., 276
Rembrandt, 276-277
Titian, 276-277
Peale Museum, Philadelphia, 276
Pearce, John, 392
Pearsall, A. W. H., 367
Pearson, Capt. R. H., 369
Peckham, Howard H., 291, 292, 321, 322, 326
Peerce, John, 36, 39
Pell, Joshua, Jr., 286, 298, 300, 301, 307, 316, 317, 322, 323
Pembroke College, 17, 19, 28
Pembroke Hall, 18
Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C., 263
Pennsylvania Avenue Bridge, Washington, D.C., 131
Peon, Jacques, 35
Pepperell, William, 386
Perkins and Wood's Brewery, 99
Perrot, P. N., 391, 392
Mrs. Paul, 392
*Peter* (brig), 333
Peters, Lt. Col., John, 298
Petersburg, Va., 292
Peterson, M., 367
Peterson, William J., *The Pageant of the Press: A Survey of 125 Years of Iowa City Journalism, 1836-1961*, 389
Petrie, Capt., 309, 312
Philadelphia, 57, 106 ff., 111, 115, 117, 124, 142, 153, 288, 308, 333
Philadelphia Bank, 240
Philadelphia Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures, 261
Phillips, [Ulrich B.], 268
Maj. Gen. William, 292, 318, 330
*Phoenix* (British ship), 333
Pickering, Timothy, 25
Pickett, William, 38
Pig Point, Anne Arundel County, 370
*Pigot* (galley), 332
Pilmer, Henry, 312
Pindell, R., 208
Pinkerton, Allen, 50

Pinkney, William, 202
Pipe Creek, 175
Pipe Creek Line, 133-149
Pitch Pine Plains, 306, 307
Pitsford, Vt., 301
Pitt, William, 26, 84, 387
Pittsfield, Mass., 329
"A Plain Dealer," pseud., 92, 98
"Planter," pseud., 121
Planters Guards, 355, 356
Plater, George, 206, 339
*Platform* (ship), 23
Pleasants, J. Hall, 45, 339
Pocomoke Company, 125
Pocomoke River, 119, 121, 125
Poe, Clarence, editor, *True Tales of The South at War: How Soldiers Fought and Families Lived, 1861-1865*, 69; reviewed, 171
Edgar Allan, 48
*The Poems of Charles Hansford*, edited by James A. Servies and Carl A. Dolmetsch, *reviewed*, 387-388
Poesch, Jessie, *Titian Ramsay Peale, 1799-1885, and His Journals of the Charles Wilkes Expedition*, reviewed 276-277
Point au Fer, Quebec, 294
Point Lookout, St. Mary's County, 171
Point Patience, 367-370
Politics of crisis: The Maryland Elections of 1788-89, by Dorothy M. Brown, 195-209
Pope, John, 273
Pope-Hennessy, James, 17
Portsmouth, N. H., 374
Potomac Company, 113, 119 ff., 124, 125, 243
Potomac Edison Company, Hagerstown, 390
Potomac River, 62, 104, 106, 107, 115, 119 ff., 122 ff., 131, 139, 158, 197
Powell, Brig. Henry Watson, 292, 319, 320
*The Power of the Purse*, by E. James Ferguson, reviewed, 270-271
Prescott, William H., 48
*President James Buchanan, A Biography*, by Philip S. Klein, 172
*President Warfield* (ship), 63
Pressly, Thomas J., 169
Prince Frederic of Brunswick, 320
Prince Frederick Regiment, 291
Prince George's County, 355
Prince of Wales' Dragoons, 342
Prince William Henry, of England, 205
Princeton University, 377
*Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America*, by Hezekiah Niles, 152, 153
*The Progressive Farmer*, 171
Prospect Hill, Somerville, Mass., 330
Provincial Convention, 371-374
Pullen, John J., 395
Dr. Thomas G., 390
*Puritan Antagonist: President Thomas Clap of Yale College*, by Louis Leonard Tucker, 172
Putnam's Creek, 295
Pyne, Rev. Smith, 53

Quarles, Benjamin H., *The Negro in the American Revolution*, 68
Quebec, Canada, 291
Queen Anne of England, 78, 180
Queen Anne's County, 356, 371-374
Queen's Loyal Rangers, 298
Queens Regiment of Light Dragoons, 295
Quigley, John, 38
Quincy, Mass., 150
Quitman, Gov., of Mississippi, 51
Quynn, Allen, 183, 189, 190, 193
Dorothy Mackay, 100 ff., 392
Quynn, Dorothy M., "Johann Friederich Amelung at New Bremen," 393
William R., 392

Rachal, William M. E., Hutchinson, William T., and, editors, *The Papers of James Madison*, 172; reviewed, 376-378
Radcliffe, George L., 76, 390
Radbill, Francis X., 45
Radoff, Morris L., 390
Ramsay, David, 285, 295, 311, 317
Malcolm, 312
Nathanial, 207
Randall, John W., 246, 250
Richard H., 62, 63, 278
Randolph, Edmund, 25
Rankin, Hugh F., 291
"The Rape of Lucrece," chantey, 277
"Rashi in Prague," by Emma Lazarus, 4
Rawlins, Moses, 206
Rayner, Albert, 11
"A Real Friend to Maryland," pseud., 93, 98, 101
"Real Voter," pseud., 197, 200
*A Rebel Came Home*, edited by Charles M. McGee, Jr., and Ernest M. Lander, *reviewed*, 273-275
*Recording America's Past: An Inter-*

*pretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607-1884*, by David D. Van Tassel, *reviewed*, 169-170
*Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., 1957-1959*, edited by Francis Coleman Rosenberger, 68
THE RECTORY OF ST. PAUL'S PARISH, BALTIMORE: AN ARCHITECTUAL HISTORY, by Howard E. Wooden, 210-228
Redwood Street, Baltimore, 253
Reese, Lizette Woodworth, 281
Reeves, Capt. 332
Reisterstown Road, 150
Reisterstown Turnpike, 127, 129
Reisterstown Turnpike Company, 128, 129
Reizenstein, Miss, 7
Rent, Andrew, 162
Reviews of Recent Books, 56, 163, 268, 375
*Revenge* (ship), 305
REVOLUTION OR REFORM IN 1836: MARYLAND'S PREFACE TO THE DORR REBELLION, by A. Clarke Hagensick, 346-366
Reynolds, [Joseph J.], 138, 139, 142 ff.
Robert, 189, 190
William, 185
Reynolds Tavern, Annapolis, 189
Rhetz Regiment, 291, 293, 316
*Rhode Island History* (magazine), 73
Richardson, William, 206, 302
Richardson and Robbins Co., 280
Richmond, Va., 173
Richmond *Examiner* (newspaper), 50
Rickerson, Wildey C., 396
Ridgely, Charles, 202
Charles, of William, 206, 208
family, 172
Ridgley, David, 186
Riedesel, Major General Friederich, 286, 289, 291, 293, 300, 301, 304, 309, 315, 316, 318, 321, 323, 325
M. 292, 293, 322
Riedesel Dragoon, 291
Rigby, James H., 155-162
Riley, Elihu S., 78, 180 ff., 191, 193, 349
Ringgold, Thomas, 194
Ripley, S. Dillon, 2nd, 58
Ritchie, Albert C., 375
Rives, William Cabell, 52
Riviere au Sable, Quebec, 294
Roberts, William, 192, 193
Robertson, James I., Jr., 273
[James M.], 139
Robinson, John, 33
"Rockland," Washington County, 283
Rockville, Montgomery County, 171, 352
Rogers, Horatio, 286, opp. 288, 292 ff., 303, 315, 316, 318, 319, 321, 323
John, 206
*Roll and Go*, by Johanna C. Colcord, 278
Romans, Bernard, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, 172
Rome, N. Y., 311
Roosevelt, Pres. Franklin D., 15
*Roosevelt and Howe*, by Alfred B. Collins, Jr., 389
Rosengarten, J. G., 289
Rosenberger, Francis Coleman, editor, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., 1957-1959*, 68
Rosenthal, Miss, 12
Ross, John, 182, 192
Capt. John, 302
General [Robert], 267, 369
"Roving," chantey, 277
Rowe, Lt., 302
Royal Arcanum Club, 220
Royal College of Physicians, 30
Royal Greens, 293
Royal North British Fuziliers, 291, 293
*Royal Oak* (British ship), 369
Rubin, Julius, 68
Rubin, Julius, *Canal or Railroad?* reviewed, 271-272
Ruckle, Thomas, cover Sept., 213, 216, 218
Rudasill, Henry, 171
Rumsey, James, 62, 121
Runge, William H., editor, *Four Years in the Confederate Artillery*, reviewed, 64
Rush, Dr. Benjamin, 179, 192
Russian Immigrant School, 1-15
Russian Night School, 12
*Ruth* (ship), 36
Rutland, Vt., 330

Sabine, Lorenzo, 294, 298
Sachs, Miss, 7
*Sailing Rams*, by James E. Marvil, M.D., *reviewed*, 61-62
St. Albans, Vt., 166
St. Ann's Parish, Annapolis, 395
St. Clair, Arthur, 295, 298, 299
St. Coicks Mills, 310, 329, 330

St. Domingo, 24
St. George's Parish, Baltimore Co., 174
St. John's Quebec, 294
St. John's Church, Washington, D.C., 47-55
*St. Lawrence* (schooner), 368
St. Lawrence River, 294
St. Leger, Lt. Col. Barry, 293, 311, 325
St. Leonard's Creek, cover, Dec., 368
St. Martin's Navigation Company, 126
St. Martin's River, 126
St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, 213
St. Paul Street, Baltimore, 210
St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, 80, 210-228
St. Paul's Church, Chestertown, 373
St. Paul's Evangelist Lutheran Church, Arcadia, Baltimore County, 71
St. Thomas Church, Garrison Forest, 282
St. Peter's Catholic Church, Baltimore, 213
Saitwick Mills, 310
Salisbury, Wicomico County, 155, 156
SAM CHASE, "DISTURBER," by Francis F. Beirne, 78-89
SAMUEL CHASE AND THE ANNAPOLIS PAPER WAR, by Neil Strawser, 177-194
Sandburg, Carl, 49, 51, 52
Sanderlin, Walter S., 121, 124
Sanders, Bena (Jameson), Mrs. William, 173
William, 173
Sanderson, John, 177, 179, 187
Sandusky, Ohio, 274
Sandy Hook, N. J., 24, 333
Santa Barbara College, 397
Saratoga, Battle of, 285-333
Saratoga Convention, 287-288
Saratoga Street, Baltimore, 210, 217, 219, 220, 222
Saulsbury, Willard, 58
Savage River, 123
Savanne, Quebec, 294
Scharf, J. Thomas, 104 ff., 119, 124, 125, 233, 248, 346, 350, 353, 356, 394
Scheer, George F., 291, 317
Schmalz, Miss., 12
Schoenrich, C. O., 13, 15
School No. 42, Baltimore City, 13, 15
School No. 44, Baltimore City, 13
Schultz, William, 281
Schutz, John A., 68
Schutz, John A., *William Shirley: King's Governor of Massachusetts*, reviewed, 385-387
Schuyler, Col. Peter Philip, 307, 311, 313, 322
Schuyler's Mills, N. Y., 315
Schuylerville, N. Y., 308
Schwartz, Frank J., 397
SCHWARTZ, FRANK J., AND GREEN, JAMES, *Found: One Anchor from H.M.S. Dictator*, 367-370
J. betw., 368-369
*Scorpion* (sloop), 368
*The Scotch-Irish: A Social History*, by James G. Leyburn, *reviewed*, 378-379
Scotch Patent, N. Y., 307
Scott, Elizabeth (Calder), Mrs. John, 373
Hannah (Smyth), Mrs. John, 372
John, 68, 371, 372
Capt. Thomas, 312, 313
Upton, 80, 81, 84, 86, 88, 177, 182, 189 ff.
Scott, Winfield, 48, 50
Scriven, Rev. George B., 73
SCRIVEN, GEORGE B., *Maryland Medicine in the Seventeenth Century*, 29-46
*A Sea Grammer*, 35
Sealey, Thomas, 174
*Seat of Empire*, by Carl Bridenbaugh, 334
2nd German Brigade, 293
*The Secession Conventions of the South*, by Ralph A. Wooster, 69
2nd Corps, Army of the Potomac, 137 ff., 143
Sedgwick, Gen. [John], 138, 143, 144
Segal, Harvey H., 68
Seiler, William H., "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," 167
Sellers, Coleman, 277
Horace Wells, 182 ff.
Sellman, John, 354
Seneca Falls of the Potomac River, 119
Seney, John, 206
Joshua, 206, 207
Servies, James A., and Dolmetsch, Carl R., editors, *The Poems of Charles Hansford*, reviewed, 387-388
*Seventeenth Century America: Essays in Colonial History*, edited by James Morton Smith, *reviewed*, 167-168
Severn River, 78
Sewall, Jonathan, 151, 152
Seward, William H., 50, 51, 53, 54
Sharp, Peter, 34, 36, 40
Sharp Street, Baltimore, 13
Sharpe, Gov. Horatio, 82, 186, 338
Sharpsburg, 157, 158
Sharptown, Wicomico County, 61
Shaw, James, 206

Shaw, Virginia, De Valinger, Leon, and, editors, *A Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters, 1742-1899, Vol. III*, 172
Shay's Rebellion, 271
Shehee, Roger, 33
Sheldon, James, 312
Shenandoah Falls of the Potomac River, 119, 121
Shenandoah River, 122
Shenandoah Valley, 64
Shepardstown, W. Va., 156, 158
Shetler, Charles, *Guide to the Study of West Virginia History*, reviewed, 65
Shirley, William, 68
*Shout Treason: The Trial of Aaron Burr, by Francis F. Beirne*, 175
Shrewsberry, Mass., 329
Shrimpton, Capt. John, 302
Shriver, Mr., 141
Frederic Austin, 140, 141
S. C., 140
brothers, 139
Shropshire, Courtney W., M.D., 172
Shropshire Regiment, 286
Sickles, [Daniel], 144 ff.
Sidelights, 47, 155, 259, 371
Simpson, Capt., 312
Sioussat, Annie Leakin, 180
St. George L., 98, 106, 108, 128
6th Corps, Army of the Potomac, 137, 138, 144
62nd Regiment of Foot, 291, 293, 298, 299, 302, 307, 310, 316, 317
Skene, Philip, 303, 309, 310
Skenesborough, Vt., 303, 305, 306, 313, 319
Slocum, Gen. [Henry W.], 142 ff., 157, 159
Smith, Adam, 246
Charles, 392
Ellen Hart, 270, 275, 388
Emperor, 35, 44
Hugh, 265
Smith, James Morton, editor, *Seventeenth Century America: Essays in Colonial History*, 167-168
Capt. John, 34, 35, 70
Lloyd W., Collection of, 285, 286
Robert, 199, 206
Samuel, 241, 260, 261, 382
Samuel H., 261
Samuel Stanhope, 377
Thomas, 371, 373
Thorogood, 242
William, 206
William Henry, 295, 298
Wilson, 378
Smithers, Nathaniel B., 59
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 47, 391 ff.
Smyth, Thomas, 371, 372, 374
Snell, Charles F., 313, 316, 327
Snow Hill, Worcester County, 125
Society for Educating Orphaned and Needy Hebrew Children, 9
Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, 71
Solbey, Dr. Nicholas, 40
*Soldiers' Battle: Gettysburg*, by James Warner Bellah, 389
Solomons, A. S., 11
Somerville, Mass., 330
Sommerfield, Rose, 12
Sonthonax, Mr., 23
Sons of Liberty, 83
Sorel River, 294
"The South in Reconstruction 1865-1880," by Fletcher M. Green, 384
*The South in the New Nation, 1789-1819*, by Thomas P. Abernathy, 68; *reviewed*, 380-381
South Mountain, 137, 155
Southern Fencibles, 289
Specht, Brig. Gen. Friederich J., 293, 326
Specht Regiment, 291, 293
"Spectator," pseud., 203
Spencer, Edward, 105
Eleanor P., 225, 226, 277
Spiller, William, 175
*The Spiritual and Educational Background of Franklin and Marshall College*, by Frederic Shriver Klein, 175
*Spitfire* (galley), 332
Springfield, Ill., 54
Springfield, Mass, 153
Spry, Oliver, 37
Mrs. Oliver, 37
Squier, Ephraim, 324
Staley, Thomas, 174
Stamp Act, 78, 81 ff., 177, 194
Stampp, [Kenneth], 268
Stapleton, Capt. Francis S., 302
Stark, Gen. John, 309
State House, Annapolis, 180, 184
THE STATE IN THE MARYLAND ECONOMY 1776-1807, by Mary Jane Dowd, 90-132, 229-258
Stanley, Adam, 36
Stansby, Dr. John, 32, 37
Mary, 37
*Steam Packets on the Chesapeake*, by Alexander Crosby Brown, *reviewed*, 62

Stedman, Charles, 292, 293, 303, 309, 313, 317, 321, 323, 329
Steele, Lt. Thomas, 302
Steiner, Bernard C., 346, 347
Stelle, Mr., 262
Stelle's Hotel, Washington, D. C., 260
Sterett, Samuel, 206, 207, 242
Steuart, George, 80 ff., 84, 86, 87, 177, 182 ff., 188 ff.
Sir James, 246
Stier, Henri Joseph, 180
Stillwater, N. Y., 307, 308, 313, 315, 329
Stirling, Lord, 308
Stone, Gov. [John H.], 117, 122, 128
Michael Jenifer, 206
William L., 286, 289, 292, 293, 298, 303, 304, 306, 311, 314 ff., 321 ff., 328, 329
"Stratford," 393
Strawser, Neil, 284
STRAWSER, NEIL, *Samuel Chase and the Annapolis Paper War*, 177-194
Strouse, Leopold, 11
Stuart, Gen. J. E. B., 139 ff., 148, 149
Sudler, Emory, 371, 372
Sudlersville, 372
Sugar Hill, 299, 320
Sullivan, William, 179
Sumner, Gen. [Edwin V.], 156, 157
*Sunday Sun* (Baltimore newspaper), 66
Susquehanna Canal Company, 115, 117 ff., 120, 122 ff., 256
Susquehanna River, 20, 106, 107, 115 ff., 136 ff., 142, 143, 147
Sussex County, Delaware, 58, 61
*Swallow Barn*, by John Pendleton Kennedy, 389
Swart, Jacobus, 315
Sweltenham, George, 312
Swift, Elizabeth, Mrs. Mark, 174
Elizabeth (Whitaker), Mrs. Flower, 174
Flower, 174
Mark, 174
Thomas, 174
"Switch," pseud., 198, 202
Sword House, Dovegat, N. Y., 315
Sydnor, [C. S.], 268
Sykes, Gen. George, 138, 140, 141
Sylvester, Nathaniel, 307
Szold, Henrietta, 1-15
Sadie, 4
*The Szolds of Lombard Street*, by Alexandra Lee Levin, 73

Tahl, Samuel, 11
Talbot County, 63
Talbot County Historical Society, 390
Taney, Roger Brooke, 48, 382
Taneytown, Carroll County, 135, 138, 143, 144
Taneytown Road, 143
Tangier Sound, 61
Tasker, Benjamin, 79, 89, 182, 192, 338, 339, 342, 344
Taunton River, 332
Taylor, Capt. William Thomas, 320
Temkin, Dr. Owsei, 29
Temple, William, 58
Tennallytown, D. C., 156
Terry, Sir Richard R., 277
Texas, Baltimore County, 281, 395
*Textile History Review* (magazine), 284
Thacker, Thomas, 34
Thames River, 104, 369
Thatcher, James, 296, 299
*These Chesapeake Men*, by Gilbert Byron, 64
3rd Corps, Army of the Potomac, 137, 138, 144
31st Regiment of Foot, 287, 294, 299, 312, 324, 330
33rd Regiment, 330
34th Regiment of Foot, 293, 302, 312, 314, 319
35th Regiment of Foot, 289
*Thisbe* (British frigate), 24
Thomas, Francis, 361
George, 206
John B., 356
Rev. Joshua, 275
Dr. Philip, 206
Thompson, Lieut., 295
James, 108
Thompson, Lawrence S., "Foreign-Language Accounts by Travelers in the Southern States, 1900-1955," 384
Thope, Capt. George, 41
Thornton, Edward, 16-28
William, 17
*Thoughts on Government*, by John Adams, 150
THREE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF JAMES H. RIGBY, A MARYLAND FEDERAL ARTILLERY OFFICER, 155-162
Three Mile Point, 298
Ticonderoga, 320
Tilghman, Frisby, 283
Judge James, 283
Richard, 44
William, 206
Tindall, George B., 385
family, 72
Tinling, Capt. Charles, 369
*Titian Ramsay Peale, 1799-1885, and*

*His Journals of the Wilkes Expedition*, by Jessie Poesch, *reviewed*, 276-277
Tom Green County, Texas, 394
"Tom Plain Truth," pseud., 205, 207
Tonken, Capt. J., 369
*Tonnant* (ship), 369
Torrence, Clayton, 80
Totty, Capt. T., 369
*Travels in the New South, A Bibliography*, edited by Thomas D. Clark, *reviewed*, 384-385
Treasury Building, Washington, D.C., 47
*Trent* (ship), 166
Trevelyan, George O., 305
Trippe, Edward, 62
Trollope, Arthur William, 28
"A True Federalist," pseud., 200
*True Tales of the South at War: How Soldiers Fought and Families Lived, 1861-1865*, edited by Clarence Poe, 68; *reviewed*, 171
Truman, Pres. Harry S., 375
Trumbull, John, 152
*Trumbull* (galley), 305
Tuckahoe Creek, 109
Tucker, Leonard Louis, *Puritan Protagonist: President Thomas Clap of Yale College*, 172
Tunnell family, 175
Turnbull, Mrs. Lawrence, 2
12th Corps, Army of the Potomac, 138, 144
"The Twentieth-Century South as Viewed by English-speaking Travelers, 1900-1955," by Rupert B. Vance, 384
Twentieth Regiment of Foot, 291 ff., 302, 316
21st British Light Infantry, 309, 312, 316, 320, 369
22nd Regiment, 331, 332
24th Regiment of Foot, 291, 292, 294, 298, 302, 303, 309, 312, 313, 315, 316, 320
26th Pennsylvania Emergency Regiment, 140
29th Regiment of Foot, 302
*The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815-1830*, by Shaw Livermore, Jr., 69; *reviewed*, 381-382
Tyson family, 388
Tyler, John, 51

Ulrick, John, 283
Ulry, Jacob, 283
Underwood, William, Company, 280
Union Bank of Maryland, 244, 245
Union Bridge, Carroll County, 135
The Union Insurance Company, 238
Union Mills, Carroll County, 138 ff., 142 ff., 148, 149, 175
Union Mills, Va., 135
Union Trust Company, 243-244
Uniontown, 135, 143, 144
United States Bank, 242, 243
United States Branch Bank, 244
U.S. National Museum, 367
*United States Naval Operations in World War II*, 73
U. S. Naval Ordnance Test Laboratory, 367
University of Chicago, 383
University of Edinburgh, 287, 290, 372
University of Glasgow, 163
University of Illinois, 383
University of Maryland, 175, 284
University of Maryland Law School, 375
University of Virginia, 75
University of Wisconsin, 397
Upjohn, Richard, 210
Upper Bridge, Washington, D. C., 131
Upper Marlboro, Prince George's County, 355, 356, 370
Utrecht University, 31

Vale of Montgomery, Wales, 26
Van Buren, Martin, 346, 348, 353, 354, 382
*Van Meteren's Virginia, 1607-1612*, by John Parker, 68; *reviewed*, 270
Van Sickle, James H., 13
Van Tassel, David D., *Recording America's Past: An Interpretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607-1884*, reviewed, 169-170
Van Tyne, Claude H., 291, 308, 311
Vance, Rupert B., "The Twentieth-Century South as Viewed by English Speaking Travelers, 1900-1955," 384
Vanhorn, Gabriel Peterson, 106 ff.
Vanswearingen, Garrett, 33
Varick, Col., 322
Veazey, Gov. Thomas, 354 ff., 363, 364
Ver Steeg, Clarence L., 271
*Victory Chimes* (ship), 61
Virginia Declaration of Rights, 377
Virginia Historical Society, 377
Von Eelking, Max, 291, 303, 315
von Gall, Brig. Gen., W. R., 293

"Voter of Baltimore-Town," pseud., 197

Wade, John, 42
Wadsworth, James S., 52
A WAG'S HARD LOT, by Aubrey C. Land, 160-162
Wakefield, Va., 393
Waldron, Dr., 38
Walker, R. J., 383
Wallace, Adam, *Parson of the Islands*, 68; reviewed, 275
William M., 311
Waller, Benjamin, 388
Wallomsac, N. Y., 309
Walpole, Horace, 305
Walrich, Stephen, 283
Walsh, Bishop James E., 278-279
Richard, 168, 170, 173
WALSH, RICHARD, *James W. Foster*, 75-77
William, 279
Walter, Moses R., 11
Walters Art Gallery, 70
Waltham, Mass., 329
*The War of 1812*, by Francis F. Beirne, 175
Ward, Christopher, 285, 291, 293 ff., 299, 301, 304, 306, 308, 309, 311, 316, 317, 319, 322, 323, 325, 326 ff., 333
Ware, Mass., 329
*Warner and Hanna's Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore*, 212, 215 ff.
Warren, Commodore, 386
Susanna, 38
Warren, R. I., 290, 332
Warren River, 331
Warwick, Cecil County, 107
Washburne, Cong. Elihu, of Ill., 50, 51
Washington, George, 25, 27, 47, 104, 110, 119 ff., 123, 150, 164, 165, 195, 196, 208, 209, 289, 330, 372, 373, 393
Mary, 393
Mary Ball, 61
Washington, D.C., 47-55, 136, 139, 143, 147, 148, 156, 276, 341, 370, 373
*Washington* (galley), 331
Washington and Lee University, 378
Washington College, 372, 373
"Washington College, 1783," by L. Wethered Barroll, 397
Washington Woolen Mill, 263, 267
Washington Turnpike Road, 128, 129
Wasse, James, 36
Water Street, Chestertown, 372
Water Street Bridge Company of Baltimore, 131
Watkins, Malcolm, 392
Watts, Capt., George Edward, 368
Waynesboro, Va., 64
Weatherly, Guy, 28
Weber, Rowland Gosnell, 282
Thurlow, 51
Webster, Daniel, 382
Weglein, David, 13
Wells, Col. George, 42
Wertenbaker, Thomas J., 167
Wescott, Mrs. Simon Wickes, 373
Wesleyan College, 284
West Lexington Street, Baltimore, 395
West Madison Street, Baltimore, 2
West Point, N. Y., 395
West River, 109
*West Virginia Review* (magazine), 65
Western, Capt. T., 369
Western Maryland Railroad, 137
Westminster, Carroll County, 130, 135, 137 ff., 143 ff., 147, 148
Westrop, Lt. Richard, 306
Wethered, John, 371, 374
Lewin, 371
Peregrine, 374
"Whiskey Johnny," chantey, 277
Whiskey Rebellion, 25
Whitaker, Catherine, Mrs. Mark, 174
Mark, 174
Rev. Nathaniel, 339
Whitcomb, Benjamin, 307, 308
White, Frank F., Jr., 65, 170
Leonard D., 377
White House, Washington, D. C., 47, 51, 382
Whitehall Mill, 252
Whittier College, 385
Wicomico River, 61
"Wide Hall," Chestertown, 372
Wilhelm, Jane, 390
Wilkes, Charles, 276-277
Wilkins, Henry, 189-190
Thos., 371, 373
William, 189, 190
Wilkinson, James, 305, 317, 323, 380
Willard's Hotel, Washington, D.C., 51
*William and Mary Quarterly*, 18
*William Shirley: Governor of Massachusetts*, by George Arthur Wood, 387
*William Shirley: King's Governor of Massachusetts*, by John A. Schutz, 68; *reviewed*, 385-387
Williams, Harold A., 67
Col. Nathaniel, 358
Gen. Otho H., 207, 208
Capt. Robert, 369
Roger, 167

Williamsburg, Va., 377
Williamson, William, 39
Williamstown, Mass., 329
Willsboro, N. Y., 294
Wilmington, Del., 57
Wilson, Alexander, 56-58
Kenneth, 392
Ralph Carmalt, 388
Stephen, 232
family, 388
Winchester, Mrs., 40
Robert Wm., 312
*The Wind's Will*, by Gilbert Byron, reviewed, 64
Winks, Robin W., *Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years*, reviewed, 166-167
Winterthur Museum, 391, 393
Wirt, [William], 382
Wise, Edward H., 11
Wiseman, James, 312
Witherspoon, Pres. [John], of Princeton, 377
Wolcott, John W., 155
Wolstenholme, Daniel, 177
Woman's Literary Club of Baltimore, 2 ff.
Wood, George Arthur, *William Shirley*, 387
Wood Creek, Vt., 305, 306
Woodberry, Baltimore City, 252
Wooden, Howard E., 284
WOODEN, HOWARD E., *The Rectory of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore: An Architectural History*, 210-228
Woodlawn Plantation, Va., 393
Woodward, [C. Vann], 268
Woolery, Jacob, 283
John, 283
Lawrence, 283
Peggy, Mrs. Lawrence, 283
Wooster, Ralph A., *The Secession Conventions of the South*, 69
Worcester, Mass., 329
Worcester County, 353
Worthington, Mass., 329
Worthington, Thomas C., 354, 355
Wright, Esmond, *Fabric of Freedom, 1763-1800*, reviewed, 163-165
Louis B., 339
Wrightsville, Pa., 137
Wurdeman, Mrs. Josephine A. [Jameson), 174
Wyatt, Dramaris, 38
Rev. Dr. William E., 219
Wynne, John, 39

Ximines, Gonzalo, 42

*Yankees and Yorkers*, by Dixon Ryan Fox, 334
Yardley, [Herbert], 67
Yazoo scandal, 380
Yellowstone Expedition, 276
Yingling, Vernon, 392
York, Pa., 141
York County, Va., 388
York Road, 141
York Turnpike, 127, 130
Young, G. M., 166

*Zebra* (ship), 333
Zouck, Henry, 71
J. Franklin, 71
Sir John, 71
family, 71

2718